

**THE LEVANT COMES OF AGE:  
THE NINTH CENTURY BCE THROUGH SCRIPT TRADITIONS**

by  
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## **ABSTRACT**

It has long been recognized that the alphabetic scripts present within the Northwest Semitic inscriptions of the first half of the first millennium BCE belong to three separate script traditions — Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew. Although there have been valuable studies of the early history of each of these traditions, including some discussion of the interrelationships between them, there has not been a comprehensive and systematic palaeographic study of these traditions viewing all three from a comparative perspective and attempting to identify the time and circumstances of the origin of each as a distinct tradition in relation to the others. The goal of this dissertation is to fulfill the need for such a study.

This investigation will show that by the end of the eleventh-beginning of the tenth century, Phoenician seems already to have emerged as a separate script; and over the course of the early Iron II period (tenth-eighth centuries BCE), at least two additional scripts emerged from Phoenician: Hebrew, in the ninth century, and Aramaic, in the eighth. Markedly, this change in the character of alphabetic writing in this period corresponds to contemporary socio-political developments and suggests that the development of these individualized scripts arose under the patronage of specific polities. The Phoenician script arose in the commercial power centers of the Phoenician city-states on the Levantine coast. The advent of the Hebrew script corresponds to Israel's rise to predominance in southern Canaan. Finally, the genesis of the Aramaic script parallels the rise of the Assyrian Empire in Syria and this empire's appropriation of Aramaic as an administrative tool and mode of communication throughout its realm.

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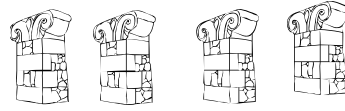
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*To the Four Corners*

*Darrell, Darren, Chris, and Kyle*



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## ABBREVIATIONS

- CIS* *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum ab academia. inscriptionum et literarum humaniorum conditum atque digestum.* Paris: e Reipublicæ Typographeo, 1881-1950.
- COS 2* *The Context of Scripture.* Vol. 2, Monumental Inscriptions from the Biblical World. Edited by W. W. Hallo. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Gibson *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions.* By J. C. L. Gibson. Vol. I, Hebrew and Moabite Inscriptions. Vol. II, Aramaic Inscriptions, Including Inscriptions in the Dialect of Zenjirli. Vol. III, Phoenician Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialect of Arslan Tash. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975-82.
- KAI* *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften.* By H. Donner and W. Röllig. Vols. I-III. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1962-64. Vol. I, revised edition, 2002.



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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

It has long been recognized that the alphabetic scripts present within the Northwest Semitic inscriptions of the first half of the first millennium BCE belong to three separate script traditions — Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew. Although, as explained below, there have been valuable studies of the early history of each of these traditions, including some discussion of the interrelationships between them, there has not been a comprehensive and systematic palaeographic study of these traditions viewing all three from a comparative perspective and attempting to identify the time and circumstances of the origin of each as a distinct tradition in relation to the others. The goal of this dissertation is to fulfill the need for such a study.

As the investigations conducted in the chapters that follow will show, by the end of the eleventh-beginning of the tenth century, Phoenician seems already to have emerged as a separate script; the same cannot be said of Aramaic and Hebrew. On the other hand, our examination of the eighth-century scripts will show that by that time all three — Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew — had established themselves as distinct traditions which can be reliably recognized on palaeographic grounds. It follows from these findings that the special focus of this study will be the palaeographical developments of the ninth century BCE, which was the time when inscriptions with features that are clearly diagnostic of the separate traditions first begin to appear in the epigraphic record. More generally, the chronological range of our study includes the first three centuries of the first millennium BCE or, in the terminology of Levantine archaeology, the early Iron II period (tenth–eighth centuries BCE<sup>1</sup>).

Markedly, this change in the character of alphabetic writing in this period corresponds to contemporary political developments and suggests that the development of these individualized

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<sup>1</sup> T. E. Levy and T. Higham, eds., *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* (London: Equinox, 2005); I. Finkelstein and A. Mazar, *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* (B. B. Schmidt, ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007).

scripts arose under the patronage of specific polities, most characteristically the (also newly arisen) nation-states of Syria-Palestine. I will briefly consider this association further in the conclusions of each of the chapters on these respective script traditions.

### **Palaeographic Analysis: The Alphabet in the Early Iron II Period (Tenth-Eighth Centuries), Establishing and Refining the Typological Dataset**

First, I will identify the earliest traces of the newly formed/forming Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic script series, isolating the incipient characteristics of each of their 22 letter forms as they appear in each respective tradition. I will then provide a detailed description of the subsequent typological developments of these letter forms and will illustrate this description with script charts. These script series will be assessed both chronologically, as they evolve within their own particular tradition; and comparatively, as they evolve in comparison with each other. I discuss in detail the methodology that I employ when conducting this palaeographic analysis in the following chapter.

I am not the first to study this topic. Others, most notably F. M. Cross and J. Naveh have conducted important studies of aspects of the early Northwest Semitic script traditions and made valuable observations regarding their origins. Nonetheless, it is important to reassess previous theories about the early development of these script traditions in light of newly found and newly published inscriptions, as well as the advent of new digital photographic and drawing technologies, which are discussed briefly below and in further detail in the following chapter.

### **A Palaeographic Resource**

In order to conduct this analysis it was necessary for me to compile an epigraphic dataset of early Iron II inscriptions, and I make that dataset available here, not only as a reference for this particular study, but also with the hope that it might serve as a resource for future epigraphical and historical studies on the early development of the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic scripts. As

mentioned above, the ninth-century is particularly important for the study of the origins of Northwest Semitic script series; therefore, I have focused most especially on the material from this period.

The pertinent inscriptions are scattered in museums and other collections throughout the Middle East and Europe, and good photographs of many of them are not available. Nevertheless, the kind of palaeographic analysis undertaken in this project required on-site collation of the individual epigraphs, as well as the procurement and/or production of high-quality digital images. Whenever possible, I analyzed these inscriptions on site in their respective museum and departments-of-antiquity collections, and produced photographs of them, using a new photographic technology, Reflectance Transformation Imaging, a technique that is discussed more fully in the following Methodology chapter.

In addition to procuring and/or producing digital images of the pertinent inscriptions, I also produced digital drawings of the ninth-century inscriptions in order to illustrate my epigraphic interpretation of the individual texts.<sup>2</sup> These drawings were prepared in an effort to establish solid readings of each inscription, as well as to illustrate the distinctive palaeographic features of the scripts of each inscription. I also produced script charts of not only the ninth-century inscriptions but of all the early Iron II inscriptions discussed in this study in order to illustrate the typological development of each of the early Northwest Semitic scripts that I saw during my palaeographic analysis of these inscriptions. I prepared these drawings and script charts using current digital drawing technologies, most especially Adobe Illustrator, which is discussed more fully in the following Methodology chapter.

Moreover, not only are the pertinent epigraphs scattered throughout various museums and collections, so also are the scholarly treatments of them scattered throughout various monographs and journals. That, is, if one desires to know the history surrounding both the discovery of and the subsequent scholarship on these various inscriptions, it is necessary to compile/search for this

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<sup>2</sup> By “epigraphic interpretation,” I mean exactly what I see when viewing and studying the individual inscriptions.

information for many of them.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, when treating each of the individual inscriptions below, I will include a brief discussion of their initial discovery, their current location, and their bibliographic references. The procurement/production, analysis, and presentation of each of these resources—digital images, digital drawings and script charts, and a compilation of published scholarship—were necessary to support the palaeographic analysis that follows.

## Historical Considerations: A Brief History of the Alphabet from Its Inception to the Iron II Period

The precursor to the Semitic linear alphabetic scripts utilized in the early Iron II epigraphs developed during the course of the second millennium.<sup>4</sup> The earliest examples of this parent script were recovered in Egypt and were likely developed by Semites who were living there during that period.<sup>5</sup> This writing tradition was used in Canaan during the second millennium,<sup>6</sup> alongside both

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<sup>3</sup> Though some are treated (to varying degrees) in one or more of the standard compilations for the field of Northwest Semitic epigraphy, *KAI*; Gibson, Vols. I-III; J. A. Fitzmyer and S. A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography: Old, Official, and Biblical Aramaic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1992); idem, *Aramaic Bibliography*. Online update, n.p. [cited 9 September 2013]. Online: <http://cal1.cn.huc.edu/bibliography/cal1addsfull.html>; W. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*. Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 4 (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989); F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 2005); S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008); J. Renz, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*. Vols. I-III (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995); E. Gass, *Die Moabiter—Geschichte und Kultur eines ostjordanischen Volkes im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009).

<sup>4</sup> The earliest alphabetic inscriptions were found in Egypt in the regions of Serabit el-Hadim and Wadi el-Hol. See, W. F. Albright Jr., *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*. HTS 22 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966; repr. 1969); J. C. Darnell et al., “Two Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from the Wadi El-Hôl: New Evidence for the Origin of the Alphabet from the Western Desert of Egypt,” *BASOR* 59 (2005): 63-124. For a bibliography of the early alphabetic inscriptions see, G. Hamilton, *The Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet in Egyptian Scripts* (Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 2006), 323-98; idem, “From the Seal of a Seer to an Inscribed Game Board: A Catalog of Eleven Early Alphabetic Inscriptions Recently Discovered in Egypt and Palestine,” *Bible and Interpretation*, n.p. [cited 12 October 2013]. Online: <http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/seal357910.shtml>.

<sup>5</sup> Based on the most recent inscriptional findings, it seems that a theory that locates the invention of the alphabet there during the Middle Kingdom period best fits the evidence; for it was during the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties, especially during the reign of Amenemhet III, that the Egyptians employed a large Semitic population. The Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions were originally dated to the eighteenth century BCE by W. F. Petrie (“The Mines of Serabit el Khâdem,” in *Researches in Sinai* [London: John Murray, 1906], 154-62) and W. F. Albright (“Some Suggestions for the Decipherment of the Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions,” *JPOS* 15 [1935]: 334-40). However, Albright, following J. Leibovitch, came to prefer a fifteenth century date (Leibovitch, “Die Petrie’schen Sinai-Schriftdenkmäler,” *ZDPV* 84 [1930]: 1-14; idem, *Les inscriptions protosinaïtiques*. Mémoires présentés à l’Institut Égypt 24 [Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1934]; idem, “Recent Discoveries and Developments in Protosinaitic,” *ASAE* 40 [1940]: 101-22; Albright, “The Rôle of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization,” in *Studies in the History of Culture*. Waldo H. Leland Volume [Menasha, Wisconsin: George Banta, 1942], 30; idem, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*; cf. F. M.

alphabetic<sup>7</sup> and syllabic cuneiform,<sup>8</sup> and is typically referred to as Proto-Sinaitic, Early Alphabetic or (Proto-, Paleo-, or Old) Canaanite.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, by the last centuries of that millennium, this script had become the dominant writing tradition in Canaan.

The Early Alphabetic graphemes were initially pictographic and could be written either in vertical columns or in horizontal rows.<sup>10</sup> The direction of writing could be dextrograde, sinistrograde,

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Cross Jr., "The Invention and Development of the Alphabet," in *The Origins of Writing* [F. Senner, ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1989], 79-90). Upon the findings of the Wadi el-Hol inscriptions and a reexamination of both the iconography and palaeography of the Serabit inscriptions, themselves, a return to the original eighteenth century date is favored (Darnell et al., "Two Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from the Wadi El-Hôl," 86-90; P. Kyle McCarter Jr., The Early History of the Alphabet in Light of the Wadi el-Hôl Discovery. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature [Boston, Mass., November 11, 1999]; idem, The Early History of the Alphabet. Paper presented at the annual Samuel Iwry Lecture [Baltimore, Md., 2001]; cf. idem, *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* [Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996], 67-73).

Although some have attempted to trace the development of the individual Semitic alphabetic letters directly from specific Egyptian hieroglyphic and/or hieratic signs (R. F. Butin, "Some Egyptian Hieroglyphs of Sinai and Their Relationship to the Hieroglyphs of the Proto-Sinaitic Semitic Alphabet," *Mizraim* 2 [1936]: 52-56; B. L. Ullman, "The Origin and Development of the Alphabet," *AJA* 31 [1937]: 311-28; W. Helck, "Zur Herkunft der sog. 'phonizischen' Schrift," *UF* 4 [1972]: 41-45 [cf. F. M. Cross's critique of Helck in "Early Alphabetic Scripts," in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventh-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975): Archaeology and Early Israelite History* (F. M. Cross Jr., ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1979), 102 = *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 35]; Darnell et al., "Two Early Alphabetic Inscriptions from the Wadi El-Hôl," 86-7; Cross, "The Invention and Development of the Alphabet," 85; Hamilton, *The Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet in Egyptian Scripts*; O. Goldwasser, "How the Alphabet Was Born from Hieroglyphs," *BAR* 36 [2010]: 36-50), it seems that the most that can be definitively said, drawing largely on the work of A. Gardiner ("The Egyptian Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," *JEA* 3 [1916]: 1-16), is that the Semitic alphabet was based on the acrophonic principle and influenced by the Egyptian practice of writing (P. K. McCarter Jr., "The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet," *BA* 37 [1974]: 57-8; idem, *Ancient Inscriptions*, 67-73; idem, The Early History of the Alphabet in Light of the Wadi el-Hôl Discovery; idem, The Early History of the Alphabet). See also A. Millard, "The Canaanite Linear Alphabet and Its Passage to the Greeks," *Kadmos* 15 (1976): 140-44. Furthermore, it follows that the alphabet was invented by Semites, as the names of the individual letters are Semitic (Albright, *The Proto-Sinaitic Inscriptions and Their Decipherment*; F. M. Cross Jr., "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," *ErIsr* 8 [1967]: 8\*-24\* = *Leaves*, 317-29). For a recent discussion, see Goldwasser, "How the Alphabet Was Born from Hieroglyphs," A. Rainey and O. Goldwasser, "Who Really Invented the Alphabet—Illiterate Miners or Educated Sophisticates?" *BAR*, n.p. [cited 30 August, 2010]. Online: <http://www.bib-arch.org/scholars-study/alphabet.asp>; C. A. Rollston, "The Probable Inventors of the First Alphabet: Semites Functioning as rather High Status Personnel in a Component of the Egyptian Apparatus," *ASOR* blog, n.p. [cited 28 August 2013]. Online: <http://asorblog.org/?p=427>.

<sup>6</sup> For a bibliography see Hamilton, *The Origins of the West Semitic Alphabet in Egyptian Scripts*, 323-98; idem, "From the Seal of a Seer to an Inscribed Game Board," 1-24.

<sup>7</sup> W. Horowitz, T. Oshima, and S. Sanders, *Cuneiform in Canaan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. Vols. 1-2. VAB 2 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1907, 1915; repr., Aalen: O. Zeller, 1964); A. Rainey, *El Amarna Tablets 359-379*. Supplement to J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*. AOAT 8 (2<sup>nd</sup> revised ed.; Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1978); W. L. Moran, *The Amarna Letters* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1992). See also W. Horowitz, "Hazor: A Cuneiform City in the West," *NEA* 76 (2013): 98-101.

<sup>9</sup> Note a recent discussion of the naming convention in Y. Garfinkel and S. Ganor, *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 1: Excavation Report 2007-2008* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009), 245-46.

<sup>10</sup> Just as in Egyptian hieroglyphics.

or boustrophedon. Over the course of the first millennium, in order to facilitate and expedite the writing process,<sup>11</sup> letters became gradually conventionalized and more abstract than pictorial. When the letters were pictographic, they had particular orientations; however, once they lost their pictorial aspects, the variability in the direction of writing contributed to an uncertainty about letter stance. These changes in form and stance led to a transitional period in the twelfth and part of the eleventh centuries, in which the alphabetic inscriptions displayed little uniformity.<sup>12</sup> However, by the end of the eleventh-beginning of the tenth century, all letters had a standard stylized form. In addition, writing in horizontal rows and in a right-to-left direction was becoming standard practice, and, consequently, letter stances also became more fixed at this time.<sup>13</sup>

This standardization of the Canaanite script seems to have been influenced particularly by northern Canaanites, the Phoenicians, as prominent heirs of Late Bronze (1550-1200 BCE) Canaanite culture. Thus, by this period we may begin to speak of a Phoenician script and to use this term to classify the scripts of those inscriptions which exhibit standardized linear alphabetic writing.<sup>14</sup> Over

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. the section “Ductus Drives Development” in the Methodology chapter of this study.

<sup>12</sup> McCarter explains, “an individual sign might occur in its old upright position, or rotated ninety degrees clockwise, or rotated ninety degrees counterclockwise. The inevitable result was much uncertainty and confusion, leading to the occasional appearance of a sign in a stance inverted, reversed, or sidelong with respect to the stances of its companion signs in an inscription” (“The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet,” 58-9; idem, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1975], 111-12).

<sup>13</sup> Cross was the first to document these developments fully (“The Evolution of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet,” *BASOR* 134 [1954]: 18-19 = *Leaves*, 310; idem, “The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet,” 14\*-15\* = *Leaves*, 323; idem, “Early Alphabetic Scripts,” 104-5 = *Leaves*, 337; idem, “Newly found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts,” *BASOR* 238 [1980]: 1, 13 = *Leaves*, 213, 226; idem, “The Invention and Development of the Alphabet,” 81-83). See also McCarter, “The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet,” 58-9; idem, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 111; idem, *Ancient Inscriptions*, 67-70.

J. Naveh stated in 1970 that “the Proto-Canaanite developed into the Phoenician script” with “the development of the linear forms, the stabilization of the right-to-left direction, and the reduction of the number of letters to twenty-two consonants” (“The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan in the Iron Age,” in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century. Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* [J. A. Sanders, ed.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970], 277 = *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy* [Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2010], 3). However, in 1973, Naveh listed the criteria for “the change of the name Proto-Canaanite into Phoenician” as the “development of the linear forms, the stabilization of the twenty-two letter stances and that of the right-to-left direction of writing” (“Some Semitic Epigraphical Considerations on the Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet,” *AJA* 77 [1973], 3 = *Studies*, 83. Cf. idem, *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Palaeography* [2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; 1987; repr., 1997], 42, 53). Cf. the discussion of the 22 alphabetic graphemes in the following note.

<sup>14</sup> For further discussion see the conclusions of both the Phoenician-script and the Tenth-Century South Canaan chapters of this study. The Phoenicians have also been credited with the reduction of the linear alphabetic script from 27 to 22 graphemes (W. F. Albright Jr., “Some Important Recent Discoveries: Alphabetic Origins and the Idrimi Statue,” *BASOR* 118 [1950]: 13-14; Naveh, *Early History*, 30-31, 42, 53; McCarter, “The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet,” 54-68; idem, in



the course of the early Iron II period (tenth-eighth centuries BCE), as I will show in this dissertation, at least two additional scripts emerged from the Phoenician: Hebrew, in the ninth century, and Aramaic, in the eighth.

## Structure of the Dissertation

In the following chapter, I will discuss the palaeographic methodology and technical terminology that I employ throughout the study. This methodology chapter is followed by three chapters covering the Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew scripts respectively. In each of these chapters, I treat individually the ninth-century inscriptions from the respective script tradition, while situating them in their larger early Iron II framework. I give a description of the discovery and publication history of each text, as well as a transliteration and translation. This is followed by a discussion of the significant palaeographic features of the script of the inscription. In the latter part of each chapter I offer a comprehensive palaeographic discussion of the respective script tradition, as it develops in the early Iron II period, especially with respect to the other contemporary script traditions. (The related drawings and script charts are found at the very end of the dissertation.) Finally, at the end of each chapter, I comment briefly on what the advent and/or development of each particular

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R. E. Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter Jr., M. J. Lundberg, and B. Zuckerman, "An Abecedar of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judaean Shephelah," *BASOR* 344 [2006]: 5-46; idem, "Palaeographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedar," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedar in Context* [R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 229; C. A. Rollston, "The Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions: A Response to Sass," *MAARAV* 15 [2008]: 62-3, n.21; idem, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* [Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010], 19; B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988], 163-4, 166). This theory has persisted despite the fact that Cross pointed out that in the Late Bronze Age Canaanite cuneiform alphabetic corpus, a reduction to 22 graphemes has also occurred ("Invention and Development of the Alphabet," 77-8, 84; idem, "The Evolution of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," 22 n.13 = *Leaves*, 311 n.13; "Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," 23\* = *Leaves*, 328; "Early Alphabetic Scripts," 99, 101, 105 = *Leaves*, 332, 334, 337; F. M. Cross Jr. and T. O. Lambdin, "A Ugaritic Abecedar and the Origins of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *BASOR* (1960), 22, 22 n.8-10 = *Leaves*, 313-14, 313-14 n.7-9). Naveh does note in the "additions and corrections" to *Early History* (213) that "the inscriptions which were discovered outside Ugarit are written in the short cuneiform alphabetic script, which consists of 22 signs." See P. K. McCarter Jr. and H. D. D. Parker forthcoming.

With regard to Phoenician influence on the linear alphabetic script, cf. also the discussion of the letter names (Cross, "Early Alphabetic Scripts," 97-123 = *Leaves*, 330-43; idem, "Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," 12\*, 23\* = *Leaves*, 321, 328-29; idem, "Newly Found Inscriptions," 14 = *Leaves*, 226; McCarter, "Palaeographic Notes," 47-48). However, this evidence seems ambiguous, as several of the letter names do not reflect Phoenician orthography (McCarter, "Palaeographic Notes," 48 n.5).

script tradition might reveal about the scribal apparatus that produced it and about the wider socio-political history of the Levant in that period.

## CHAPTER 2: Methodology and Terminology of Palaeographic Analysis<sup>15</sup>

In the following pages, I define and/or diagram various technical terms employed throughout this dissertation, as well as present the method with which I conducted the palaeographic analyses presented in this study. Much of what I discuss below overlaps with general terms and methods employed by most Northwest Semitic palaeographers; however, not every palaeographer uses these terms in the exact same way and/or with strict technical meaning or precise consistency. What follows is the way in which I understand and employ these terms and the way in which I understand and employ palaeographic method.

### I. Basic Terms and Principles of Palaeographic Analysis and Script Typologies

#### Terminology

The study of palaeography falls under the study of epigraphy, and, as these terms are used with regard to the study of Northwest Semitic inscriptions,<sup>16</sup> they may be defined as follows.

**Epigraphy** is the broad study of ancient written sources and is concerned with linguistic, grammatical, syntactic, lexicographic, onomastic, historical, palaeographical, and/or genre studies.<sup>17</sup>

**Palaeography** is the study of the way in which the letters of a script are formed and of how these

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<sup>15</sup> The methodology that I present in this chapter I learned from my fine teachers, Professor P. K. McCarter Jr. and Professor C. A. Rollston. I have also learned much from the pioneers in our field F. M. Cross Jr. ("Alphabets and Pots: Reflections on Typological Method in the Dating of Human Artifacts," *MAARAV* 3 [1982]: 121-36 = idem, *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*. Harvard Semitic Studies 51 [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 344-50) and J. Naveh (*Early History of the Alphabet* [2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; 1987; repr., 1997]). I have listed some of their major works here, though their method is spread throughout countless articles, many with very substantial footnotes. See also the summary article by M. D. McLean, "Palaeography," *ABD* 5 (1992): 58-60.

<sup>16</sup> These terms are used somewhat differently in Classical studies, see the following note.

<sup>17</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 6; McLean, "Palaeography," 58-59.

forms change and develop over time.<sup>18</sup> Palaeographers are also concerned with providing accurate readings of texts,<sup>19</sup> that is, with deciphering the actual script characters that are written on a surface.

**Typology** – a system of classification or types. By performing a systematic study of the changes that occur in a script’s letter forms over time and by documenting these changes, a palaeographer is able to establish a script’s **typological sequence (also called typological dataset)**. This sequence may then be used to establish a relative chronology for a script, and such a relative chronology may allow the palaeographer to date inscriptions written in that same script series in relation to one another.<sup>20</sup> Typologies also allow palaeographers to identify the script of an inscription and to situate it within a particular script tradition.

**Letter form** – the shape of a letter.

**Letter features** – the characteristics of a letter that make up its form, such as its shape, size, stance with regard to vertical orientation, and placement in relation to other letters<sup>21</sup> and to scribal guide lines.

Northwest Semitic scribes oriented their letters to a **scribal guide line**. In the inscriptions from the early Iron II period, the letters appear as if they are hung from a **ceiling line** (also called **hang line**). (In later periods, base lines are also used in Northwest Semitic inscriptions.) This ceiling line may be real or imaginary, that is, at times, one encounters an inscription with a ceiling line drawn on it.<sup>22</sup> Other times, it appears that the scribe simply “eye-balled” the ceiling line, as the text of some inscriptions drifted up or down as the scribe wrote.

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<sup>18</sup> B. Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1968), 3; Naveh, *Early History*, 6; McLean, “Palaeography,” 58-59.

<sup>19</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 6; McLean, “Palaeography,” 58-59.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> See especially, C. A. Rollston, “Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence,” *BASOR* 344 (2006): 58-59; B. Zuckerman with L. Swartz Dodd, “Pots and Alphabets: Refractions of Reflections on Typological Method,” *MAARAV* 10 (2003): 115-18.

<sup>22</sup> McLean, “Palaeography,” 59; C. A. Rollston, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 49. For an example of a ceiling line/registers drawn on a lapidary inscription see the Ekron dedicatory inscription (S. Gittin, T. Dothan, and J. Naveh, “A Royal

**Script series or script tradition** – the way in which a script is employed within particular scribal circles.<sup>23</sup> A script series is typically associated with a particular language, polity, or geographic region.

I will employ and define additional terms throughout this chapter. They, along with several key palaeographic principles, will appear in bold-faced type.

### **Principles of Palaeography**<sup>24</sup>

(1) A fundamental assumption of typological method is that **artifacts, including scripts, change over time**.<sup>25</sup> There are two types of change. There is **subconscious or unintentional change**. This type of development happens naturally. Even things that begin as “mistakes” or idiosyncrasies might take hold and become the norm in the next period.<sup>26</sup> There is also **conscious or intentional change**. Many innovations involve improved function and are often practical,<sup>27</sup> and it is the innovations, whether accidental or deliberate, in the production of a form that result in its change.<sup>28</sup>

The majority, if not all, of the changes in the letter forms of the Iron Age Northwest Semitic scripts can be explained by the need for scribes to write rapidly. This resulted in both unintentional and deliberate changes. An example of naturally occurring or unintentional change in letter forms is

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Dedicatory Inscription from Ekron,” *IEJ* 47 [1997]: 9-16; S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* [Jerusalem: Carta, 2008], 335-40). For an example of a ceiling line on a manuscript see the Palaeo-Hebrew manuscript of Leviticus from Qumran Cave 11 (11QpaleoLev) (D. N. Freedman and K. Mathews, *The Paleo-Leviticus Scroll (11QpaleoLev)* [Philadelphia: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1985], pl. 9).

<sup>23</sup> cf. Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 4.

<sup>24</sup> Cross was the first to lay out a basic methodology for Northwest Semitic palaeography (“Alphabets and Pots,” 121-36 = *Leaves*, 344-50).

<sup>25</sup> Typologies are employed by many fields, such as art history and historical linguistics. The closest to the field of palaeography is archaeology. Cross calls these the “typological sciences” (“Alphabets and Pots,” 122-23 = *Leaves*, 344-45).

<sup>26</sup> Zuckerman with Swartz Dodd, “Pots and Alphabets,” 119.

<sup>27</sup> Cross, “Alphabets and Pots,” 126 = *Leaves*, 346-47.

<sup>28</sup> McLean, “Palaeography,” 59.

the development of ticks (or reflexes) on the ends of letters as a scribe drags the writing instrument on his way to make the next letter. An example of intentional change is when a scribe consciously forms a letter in a simpler, more efficient way, such as eliminating the amount of strokes or combining the strokes used to form a letter. Of course, a scribe might also begin to make letters in a more efficient way subconsciously. We can't always determine if a development was intentional or accidental; nevertheless, we can note that a change has occurred.<sup>29</sup> (I discuss the effect of rapid writing and scribal ductus at length below.)

(2) As relates to the development of new forms, F. M. Cross postulates, **“Each emergent type is related to, continuous with its antecedent type.”**<sup>30</sup> With regard to ancient scripts, this claim is sound. When scribes were writing documents that must then be read by other scribes, it was necessary that the forms of their letters remain within an accepted and intelligible norm. Radical alterations to a letter form would have been impractical. “Continuity is inevitable and necessary. A letter (grapheme) must be recognizable in the community in order to communicate. . . A sufficient continuity within change must be maintained to insure intelligibility.”<sup>31</sup> Modern parallels must be drawn with caution; nevertheless, a similar principle is in force today. Twenty-first-century documents intended for public communication are typically not handwritten; they are typeset, produced by a computer and keyboard,<sup>32</sup> in order to insure they are legible.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> McCarter notes that it is often difficult to know whether a change in a letter's form developed consciously or unconsciously. Furthermore, he believes that there are accidental changes that happen instantly or almost instantly, as well as accidental changes that happen gradually. He states, “It is only when (a) gradual change is complete that it is possible to recognize it, (and) at that point it is (also) possible to look back and recognize intermediate forms not previously noticed or acknowledged” (personal communication).

<sup>30</sup> Cross, “Alphabets and Pots,” 127 = *Leaves*, 347.

<sup>31</sup> Idem, “Alphabets and Pots,” 127-28 = *Leaves*, 347.

<sup>32</sup> Or a similar word processing device.

<sup>33</sup> As well as to insure that they conform to an expected professional norm.

(3) **Palaeography cannot be done in isolation. That is to say, palaeographic analysis cannot be done on a single inscription.**<sup>34</sup> **An inscription may only be analyzed vis-à-vis other inscriptions,** and “palaeographic data from various sites and multiple (chronological) horizons provide the best window on the diagnostic features, developments, and variation within a script series.”<sup>35</sup>

The term **diagnostic** designates “a development within the script of a specific period, or region which distinguishes it from the script of another period or region.”<sup>36</sup> It is the comparisons and the contrasts, the similarities and the differences between scripts/letter forms that enable one to make an analysis. Palaeographers are always looking behind and ahead, always looking at the larger trajectory of a letter form.<sup>37</sup> They may assess the **chronological (diachronic) development**<sup>38</sup> of a letter by examining its form not only in a single inscription but by comparing it to the same letter in earlier and later inscriptions written in the same script series. This allows them to pinpoint a letter’s significant typological developments. This approach is particularly important when working in a period from which few inscriptions, and therefore little palaeographic data, have been recovered. In addition to charting the chronological development of a script and the way in which letter forms evolve within their own tradition, typologies also allow palaeographers to study letters forms **comparatively (synchronically)**, noting the way in which they evolve in relation to each other.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> In the twenty-first century, we are greatly indebted to those who went before us and started with the first inscriptions, comparing and contrasting their scripts. In his article on the typological method of palaeography, Cross praised the pioneering work of Albright in establishing initial typologies in so many of the fields of biblical and Near Eastern studies (“Alphabets and Pots,” 121-36 = *Leaves*, 344-50). Cross, himself, was a pioneer in this field, followed by J. Naveh who acknowledged Cross’s many contributions (J. Naveh, “A Palaeographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script,” *HTR* 61 [1968], 68-74).

<sup>35</sup> Rollston, “Scribal Education,” 51.

<sup>36</sup> Idem, *The Art of the Scribe in Israel and Judah: The Script of Hebrew Ostraca, Incised, and Chiseled Inscriptions*, forthcoming.

<sup>37</sup> Idem, personal communication.

<sup>38</sup> Rollston, “Scribal Education,” 47-69.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

Once a typology for at least two script series has been established, inscriptions written in one script may be compared with inscriptions written in the other from the same period.

(4) When forming typologies palaeographers must be meticulous in the systematic application of sound methodological principles. **“The more sophisticated the analysis and the more rigorous the method, the more reliable the conclusions; that is, not all palaeographic analyses are equal.”**<sup>40</sup>

(5) The limitations of typologies must always be acknowledged by both the palaeographers who construct them and also those who use them. **Typologies are tools, not hard and fast rules.** Several principles should be stated outright: (a) All models have limitations, and this is in direct correlation to the amount of data on which these models are built.<sup>41</sup> The best and most accurate typologies are formed when much data are available. The greater the number of inscriptions and/or the greater the number of letter examples within a particular inscription, the better palaeographers are able to ascertain the ideal form of a letter that a scribe intended to reproduce.<sup>42</sup> (b) Typologies should be flexible and able to incorporate data from new epigraphic discoveries. One should never force an inscription to fit within a typology but rather adjust the typology to integrate new material. (c) Palaeographers must acknowledge that in an effort to understand the data, there is a temptation to overgeneralize it. They must be intellectually honest, acknowledging that there are things we do not and cannot know. Typologies are simplifications of the data, and sometimes potentially oversimplifications. The job of the palaeographer, as of any scholar, is to make every attempt to form theories that make the best sense of the evidence at hand, always giving proper caveats and stating

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 51.

<sup>41</sup> Zuckerman with Swartz Dodd, “Pots and Alphabets,” 133.

<sup>42</sup> Some scholars have questioned the amount of data available to Northwest Semitic palaeographers. See especially, W. M. Schniedewind, “Problems in the Paleographic Dating of Inscriptions,” in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* (T. E. Levy and T. Higham, eds., London: Equinox, 2005), 405-12; S. A. Kaufman, “Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyeh,” *MAARAV* 3 (1982): 137-75. Cf. the response to Kaufman by J. Naveh, “Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek, and the Script of the Tell Fakhariyah Statue,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion* (1987), 101-13 = *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2009), 92-104. The concept of an “ideal letter form” is discussed in more detail below.



clearly the limitations of their theories. B. Zuckerman expresses this principle well, “we should still strive to turn what may appear to be chaotic evidence into more orderly sets of data produced by various socio-cultural structures. This goal is the very essence of any and all typological endeavors. In sum: a balance needs to be struck between the recognition of complexity and the need to strive for greater simplicity.”<sup>43</sup> (d) There will always be outliers and exceptions to the rules (or exceptions that prove the rules). These exceptions must not be ignored or glossed over. They must be acknowledged and considered and always be part of the dataset held in the mind of the palaeographer. However, sound theories should be based on the majority of the evidence. In short, one must not let “the tail wag the dog.”<sup>44</sup>

In sum, as palaeographers, we can postulate theories that explain most of the evidence, while still acknowledging that these are theories are simply that, and recognizing that every example cannot be forced to fit these theories. We cannot confuse our models for “accurate renditions of the past.”<sup>45</sup> Our task is to create and to refine typological datasets in an effort to better understand the extant epigraphic material; however, we must never cease to recognize the complexity of our data and to take into account the variety of things that effected the production of an inscription (discussed below).

## II. Compiling a Dataset

When palaeographers select the inscriptions on which to build a typology, these inscriptions should meet the following criteria. (1) **Inscriptions should come from controlled archaeological excavations**, not from the antiquities market. This insures that the dataset is not corrupted by

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<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 132-33.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to my teacher, T. J. Lewis, for using this little ditty on occasion. The principle it expresses is a sound one. Cf. Kaufman, “The Pitfalls of Typology: On the Early History of the Alphabet,” *HUCA* 57 (1986): 1-14; Naveh, “Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek, and the Script of the Tell Fakhariyah Statue,” 101-13 = *Studies*, 92-104; C. A. Rollston, “The Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions: A Response to Sass,” *MAARAV* 15.1 (2008): 88-91; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 37-39.

<sup>45</sup> Zuckerman with Swartz Dodd, “Pots and Alphabets,” 132.

forgeries.<sup>46</sup> This is especially important as we move further into this age of information and technology, as forgers are better equipped than ever to replicate authentic inscriptions.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, with respect to controlled archaeological contexts, one should note that sometimes inscriptions are found in secondary contexts, especially in areas where habitation has continued virtually uninterrupted for thousands of years. For example, several of the inscriptions treated in this dissertation were found reused as building materials in the walls of (much) later structures or were recovered when a modern field was being plowed. Such contexts do not necessarily raise doubts about the authenticity of an inscription. (2) **Inscriptions should be independently dated by outside controls.** This allows them to be anchored in absolute chronologies. Without these outside controls, they may only be placed in relative chronologies in relation to each other.<sup>48</sup> Outside controls are provided if, for example, an inscription was recovered from a stratified archaeological context or if it contains a date formula, such as a regnal year, or other information that can be dated in comparison with outside sources. Throughout this dissertation when referring to inscriptions that meet this criteria, I typically use the phrase, “**securely-dated.**”

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<sup>46</sup> C. A. Rollston, “Non-Provenanced Epigraphs I: Pillaged Antiquities, Northwest Semitic Forgeries, and Protocols for Laboratory Tests,” *MAARAV* 10 (2003): 135-93; idem, “Non-Provenanced Epigraphs II: The Status of Non-Provenanced Epigraphs within the Broader Corpus of Northwest Semitic,” *MAARAV* 11 (2004): 57-79; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 137-44; idem, “The Crisis of Modern Epigraphic Forgeries and the Antiquities Market: A Palaeographer Reflects on the Problem and Proposes Protocols for the Field,” SBL Forum, n.p. [cited 17 September 2013]. Online: <http://sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleID=370>. Rollston notes, “the Dead Sea Scrolls are often mentioned in connection with discussions of non-provenanced finds, issues of ethics, propriety, and authenticity. Obviously, some of the Qumran scrolls did appear on the market. However, it is imperative to note that that (1) the scrolls were determined to be authentic on the basis of a constellation of compelling evidence, including decisive location of the find spots, reliable Carbon-14 tests, extensive analyses of the script, etc.; (2) Many of the scrolls were found by excavators. . . . Significantly, Cross has mentioned (private communication) that ‘forged documents came in with the Qumran Cave 4 fragments bought from the *bedu* in one batch.’ This demonstrates that caution is necessary even when evaluating large corpora of ‘genuine’ epigraphs (i.e., those that are non-provenanced, but deemed ancient on the basis of a constellation of evidence), as not everything within a large corpus is necessarily ancient” (“Non-Provenanced Epigraphs I,” 181 n.113). See also A. Demsky, “On Reading Ancient Inscriptions: The Monumental Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan,” *JANES* 23 (1995): 29; idem, “Reading Northwest Semitic Inscriptions,” *NEA* 70 (2007): 68-69.

<sup>47</sup> Laboratory tests are valuable with regard to identifying an inscription as a modern forgery. The patina, as well as other material aspects of a text, may be examined in an effort to detect modern compositional elements. Note, however, that while laboratory tests can deauthenticate an inscription, they cannot authenticate one, as Y. Goren has demonstrated that ancient patinas can be chemically replicated in the modern era (“An Alternative Interpretation of the Stone Tablet with Ancient Hebrew Inscription Attributed to Jehoash, King of Judah” n. p. [February 2003; cited 17 September 2013]. Online: [http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/alternative\\_interpretation.shtml](http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/alternative_interpretation.shtml)). See also Rollston, “Non-Provenanced Epigraphs I,” 135-93; idem, “The Crisis of Modern Epigraphic Forgeries and the Antiquities Market,” n. p. [cited 17 September 2013]. Online: <http://sbl-site.org/Article.aspx?ArticleID=370>.

<sup>48</sup> Schniedewind, “Problems in the Palaeographic Dating of Inscriptions,” 405-12.

## Compiling the Data for This Dissertation

I made every effort to follow the above criteria when selecting the inscriptions for this dissertation. However, I have included a few inscriptions with less secure provenance and some that can only be dated palaeographically in relation to each other. I have done so in order to include inscriptions that have been part of Northwest Semitic palaeographic discussions for so many years that readers who are familiar with these discussions would miss them if I did not include them here. Thus, with regard to provenance there could, in theory, be a danger that my dataset includes a forgery. However, within the academic community, there are no doubts regarding the authenticity of any of the inscriptions I have included in this study.<sup>49</sup> With regard to independent date, there is a danger of circular reasoning, that I might make palaeographic statements about a script in a particular period based on inscriptions that are only associated with that period palaeographically. However, this danger is offset by the fact that the scripts of these palaeographically-dated inscriptions match very closely those seen in securely-dated epigraphs, and thus are anchored by these securely-dated epigraphs. Throughout this study when introducing each inscription, I have listed the provenance of each, as well as the grounds on which each is dated, either in the body of the text or in the footnotes.

Furthermore, I have tried to include almost all of the securely-dated Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic inscriptions from the Iron II period, most especially from the ninth-century. However, I have not included some fragmentary pieces whose inclusion would add no additional information to this discussion.<sup>50</sup> Also, I have not included seals in this dissertation. The script(s) of seals should be analyzed apart from other epigraphs, as they seem to have their own particular characteristics; thus, their typologies should be developed independently.<sup>51</sup> I believe this is especially due to the challenge

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<sup>49</sup> See note 46.

<sup>50</sup> For example, for practical reasons/time constraints, I only give a representative sampling of the very many inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud. I discuss this in detail in the Hebrew chapter.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Rollston, "Scribal Education," 53, esp. n.21; G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*. JSOTSup 360 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press), 96. For a general discussion of seal scripts, see L. G.

an artisan faced when inscribing such small objects—thus the medium had an important effect on the execution of the script on these objects.<sup>52</sup> Certainly, after separate typologies have been formed, seal scripts and the scripts of other epigraphs can, and should be, compared.<sup>53</sup>

### **Choosing Good Examples of Letter Forms for Analysis**

When analyzing inscriptions it is important to make palaeographic assessments based on clear and fully preserved letters (as much as this is possible). Forms that are damaged or faded, should be used with caution, if at all.

### **III. Modes of Analysis: On-site Collation and High-Quality Images**

Palaeographers train their eye by immersing themselves in the epigraphic data. The more epigraphs one is able to examine, the better one becomes at determining the difference between minor variations in letter forms and truly significant typological letter features.<sup>54</sup> All palaeographic analyses should be conducted from personal study of inscriptions, and this study should employ a two-fold approach. Inscriptions should be studied both on-site in their respective museum and departments-of-antiquity collections and via high-quality photographs; both approaches have benefits and limitations.

**Collation**, the direct examination or re-examination of an inscribed object itself, is always valuable and often essential because it provides an opportunity to confirm an analysis originally based on photographic images and other secondary information. Many characteristics of inscriptions cannot

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Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1978); idem, "The Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals," *BASOR* 312 (1998): 45-77; N. Avigad and B. Sass, *Corpus of West Semitic Stamp Seals* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1987); A. G. Vaughn, "Palaeographic Dating of Judaeans Seals and Its Significance for Biblical Research," *BASOR* 313 (1999): 43-64.

<sup>52</sup> The effect of the media on the execution of inscriptions is discussed in more detail below.

McCarter says that seal-making was likely a specialized craft, probably not practiced by general scribes. However, he does think that seal-makers attempted to reproduce the letter forms that scribes used in the formal expression of the script (personal communication).

<sup>53</sup> Cf. the discussion below regarding the grouping of formal and cursive inscriptions within the same script typology.

<sup>54</sup> I began to develop a real understanding of this while collating inscriptions for this dissertation and other projects. Cf. Rollston, "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian," 71.

be captured in a photograph regardless of the sophistication of the imaging technology. For example, when an inscription is particularly abraded or faded, analyzing the text in person allows the palaeographer to get a better sense of the letter forms. This became particularly clear to me when working on the Phoenician Honeyman and Nora inscriptions. In most of the published photographs of these inscriptions, many of the letter forms have a rounded appearance, and this has caused some scholars to make typological judgments about the Phoenician script based on this supposed letter feature. However, when I viewed these epigraphs in person, I saw that many of the letters were not as round as had been assumed, rather their originally-angular edges had been softened by erosion. (Cf. the discussion below regarding roundness versus pointedness of letter forms and its significance [or lack thereof] in the early Iron II period.) I have given additional examples throughout this dissertation of the very real difference on-site examination makes for conducting sound palaeographic analyses and building sound script typologies. When realizing the limitations of our typologies, as mentioned in the section on principles of palaeography above, it is important to factor in the limits of studies that do not include an on-site component.

I should mention here a potential problem for palaeographers—**chalking**. Unfortunately, in some instances museums have decided to chalk (or color in some way) the letters of an inscription in order to make them more visible and/or to highlight a particularly interesting word or phrase (e.g., Aramaic Tel Dan stele). This practice should be avoided, as it is a real hindrance to (additional) palaeographic analysis. Like a drawing (discussed below), chalking does not necessarily represent the actual inscription present on an object but rather someone's *interpretation* of what is there, and the opinion of one (or even several) should not become the basis for reading and assessing a particular inscription. This becomes even more important when the person who chalking an inscription is not a trained epigrapher/palaeographer, as his or her familiarity with that particular script may be limited or virtually non-existent, and this may lead to (even greater) error in interpretation and thus in chalking. The Phoenician Nora stone provides a perfect example of this, as it was incorrectly chalked. Unfortunately the error was not discovered until after the stone had been on display in the Cagliari

Archaeological Museum for years and had been published, along with photographs, several times. There was no way to see the error in the photographs,<sup>55</sup> and this led to many incorrect discussions about the date of the text and about Phoenician palaeography in general. It was not until B. Peckham carefully studied this inscription in the museum that he discovered the error.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, even on-site collation does not completely eliminate the problems caused by chalking an object, as the layer of color still distorts any view of it. Fortunately, museums have begun to employ less destructive methods for accenting important words and phrases within an inscription, such as using special lighting techniques or displaying an inscription in such a way that significant components are naturally highlighted.

Though analyzing inscriptions in person is crucial, working with high-quality **images** is also of great benefit. Also in the case of faded and abraded texts high-quality images, made using special photographic technologies, are particularly helpful.<sup>57</sup> Many advances in imaging technologies have been made in just the last decade or two. Multi-spectral (including infrared) photography may uncover or highlight faded ink.<sup>58</sup> Reflectance Transformation Imaging (RTI)<sup>59</sup> is particularly illuminating to chiseled or incised inscriptions. To produce an RTI image, an inscription is photographed using multiple light sources from different angles and distances around an object. The resultant images are then merged, and when viewed on a computer, RTI images can be virtually manipulated to reveal subtle details invisible to the naked eye, thus detecting and preserving text that

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<sup>55</sup> Even after producing RTI images of this inscription, this is sadly still true!

<sup>56</sup> For further discussion see the section on the Nora stone in the Phoenician-script chapter.

<sup>57</sup> Bruce and Kenneth Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg of the West Semitic Research Project (WSRP) ([cited 17 September 2013], online: <http://www.usc.edu/dept/LAS/wsrp/>) have been pioneers in this realm, not only taking photographs and developing sophisticated imaging methods but also endeavoring to make them available to the wider scholarly field via an online database InscriptiFact ([cited 13 September 2013], online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com)). InscriptiFact is designed to allow access via the Internet to high-resolution images of ancient inscriptions from the Near Eastern and Mediterranean Worlds.

I trained with WSRP in order to learn how to produce RTI images.

<sup>58</sup> See most recently, S. Faigenbaum and B. Sober, Enhancing the Reading of Ostraca: Several Test Cases Using Multispectral Imaging. Paper presented at Hebrew University, Institute of Archaeology, Mount Scopus Campus (Jerusalem, April 24th, 2013).

<sup>59</sup> Reflectance Transformation Imaging is also known as Polynomial Technical Mapping (PTM).

might otherwise be lost. I produced RTI images of many of the inscriptions that I treated in this study.

Certainly, this two-fold approach to palaeographic analysis represents the best-case scenario, especially with regard to viewing inscriptions in person. The travel expense alone is only one challenge to on-site collation.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, inscriptions have sometimes been lost or destroyed, or museums and departments of antiquity will not grant permission for their study. Scholars of Near Eastern studies are particularly affected by the often volatile political situation in the Middle East. (My plans to study the Aramaic Melqart stele in Syria were thwarted by political events in Syria.) Furthermore, the published photographs of many inscriptions are of a quality that allows only limited and tentative palaeographic analysis, if any at all.<sup>61</sup> Nonetheless despite the hindrances, every effort should be made by the palaeographer to analyze inscriptions both in person and in photographs. If palaeographers are unable to view an inscription on-site, they should disclose in their discussion of the text that they were not able to do so (as I have done in this study).<sup>62</sup>

On a final note, palaeographic analyses of inscriptions and the construction of script typologies should not be done using the drawings or script charts of others.<sup>63</sup> (Like chalking), drawings and script charts do not necessarily represent the actual inscription(s) but rather *interpretations* of it (them). Though the work of a palaeographer's colleagues can be of great help in deciphering an inscription, they are no substitute for personal study.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> The production of this dissertation would not have been possible without the generous support of various granting institutions. These are listed in the acknowledgments section in the first pages of this study.

<sup>61</sup> Such is the case for many securely-dated eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions. See further discussion in the Phoenician-script chapter.

<sup>62</sup> As mentioned above, the special focus of this study is the Northwest Semitic inscriptions of the ninth century BCE. Therefore, it is these inscriptions that I discuss in most detail below and that I made every effort to collate in person. In the individual discussions of each ninth-century inscription that follows, I note in the footnotes if I was unable to study a particular inscription in person.

<sup>63</sup> Drawings and script charts are defined below.

<sup>64</sup> I want to state clearly that I have made one exception to this rule in this dissertation. When treating the Aramaic Hazael plate from Eretria, of necessity, I relied on the palaeographic analysis of F. Bron and A. Lemaire, as they have studied the inscription in depth, alongside the other Hazael pieces that I treated in the Aramaic-script chapter (F. Bron and A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," *RA* 83 [1989]: 39). I was unable to visit the Athens National

## IV. Conducting the Analysis

### Determining the Ideal Form

When palaeographers review the epigraphic data, they see that a scribe had an **ideal form** in mind when he created an inscription. This is the form of a letter that a scribe tried to replicate each time that he produced it. Formally trained scribes sought to keep letter forms uniform, because they had to write in such a way that other scribes could read what they wrote. As mentioned above, modern documents intended for public communication are typically not handwritten; they are typed, in order to insure they are legible. The hands of the scribes were the computer keyboards of the day. Even with reference to handwritten documents, M. D. McLean explains it this way, “the individual expression of the ‘ideal form’ is different each time. No person signs his or her name exactly the same way each time. Yet the signature must be recognizable. Therefore the range of tolerated variation is limited in any given instance.”<sup>65</sup> When trying to determine the ideal form that a scribe was trying to execute, the more examples of a particular letter that appear in an inscription, the easier it is to ascertain that form.<sup>66</sup> Still, despite scribes’ best efforts at uniformity, “change happens.” As stated above, letter forms, and therefore scripts, like all artifacts, change over time; a main cause of script change is discussed in detail below.

### A Note on Different Scribal Hands

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Archaeological Museum, where the Eretria piece is held, during the summer of 2011, when collating inscriptions for this study, and the published images of the plate are insufficient for conducting a palaeographic analysis of its script, as the inscription is very small and badly worn. After corresponding with the Athens Museum, it is clear that special imaging techniques will be required to bring the inscription back into view.

I have chosen to include the Hazael Eretria plate in this study for the sake of completeness, as this inscription is typically discussed in light of its twin inscription found on the Hazael plate from Samos. Furthermore, its inclusion has not skewed or affected the data presented within this study, as its palaeographic forms (as they appear in the drawing of Bron and Lemaire) do not add anything to what is known from other contemporary inscriptions.

<sup>65</sup> McLean, “Palaeography,” 59.

<sup>66</sup> In short inscriptions an idiosyncratic form can be given merit that it does not deserve (P. K. McCarter Jr., personal communication).



Though individual scribal hands can at times be identified in the epigraphic record, for the reason(s) discussed above, a scribe's personal handwriting did not affect letter forms in a radical way.

### Acceptable Range of Variance in Letter Forms

Within each ideal form of a letter there was an **acceptable range of variance**. Sometimes minor variations in letter forms appear within the same inscription<sup>67</sup> (e.g., Phoenician Honeyman, Nora, and Karatepe inscriptions). A slight variation in form should not be mistaken for a typologically significant change in a letter feature,<sup>68</sup> nor should it necessarily cause one to suggest that an inscription was written by more than one scribe,<sup>69</sup> nor to think that palaeographic analysis is impossible because there are too many variations with the epigraphic record.<sup>70</sup> Rather palaeographers must allow for minor variation in letter forms, because though I have just referred to the hands of scribes as computer keyboards, these hands were not mechanical, they could not typeset; inscriptions were not executed by machines. G. Athas says it best, "The differences that do exist may, therefore, be attributed to the natural inability of one human hand to reproduce more than one written form in *exact* replica."<sup>71</sup> "The human hand is not mechanically precise in all minutiae."<sup>72</sup> When palaeographers evaluate all the examples of a given letter from a particular period in a particular script tradition, they may determine the acceptable range of variance for a letter's form.<sup>73</sup>

### Things that Affect Letter Forms

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<sup>67</sup> So also Demsky, "Reading Northwest Semitic Inscriptions," 70.

<sup>68</sup> "Typologically significant" changes are discussed in more detail below.

<sup>69</sup> See especially the lengthy discussion surrounding the two pieces of the Aramaic Tel Dan inscription in the Aramaic-script chapter.

<sup>70</sup> See Rollston "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian," 71; Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 144-45.

<sup>71</sup> Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 144-45.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 158.

<sup>73</sup> Rollston "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian," 71; Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 158.

## Scribal Media<sup>74</sup>

Inscriptions are found on a variety of media, most often chiseled, incised, or carved in relief on stone (**lapidary**); incised (before or after firing) or painted on pottery; or painted on plaster.

Pottery items include vessels<sup>75</sup> or **ostraca** (sherds that have been reused as a writing medium).<sup>76</sup>

At times the medium on which a particular inscription was written affected the scribe in his execution of letter forms. For example, it is particularly difficult to incise in hard stone (e.g., Tel Zayit abecedary from south Canaan) or in metal (e.g., Phoenician Carthage pendant and Ba'al Lebanon bowl), or to inscribe on curved surfaces. After collating various inscriptions on bowls (e.g., Tel Zayit abecedary, Phoenician Ba'al Lebanon and Kition bowls, Hebrew Arad 99), I noticed that a scribe's carving around the curved edge of a vessel often effected letter stance. Also, if inscriptions were carved in tight spaces (e.g., Aramaic Hazael Eretria plate)<sup>77</sup> or enclosed in registers (frequently in relief carvings),<sup>78</sup> it might have affected the size of particular letters, especially the lengths of their shafts, stems, or tails—letter features discussed frequently in this study (see diagram below). When forming a script typology one should always take media into consideration, as individual inscriptions might display **idiosyncratic** letters (unusually formed; outside the acceptable range of variance) that are the result only of the medium on which they were inscribed and are not palaeographically significant. Throughout this dissertation, I point out various examples where I believe the medium of an inscription affected the shapes of particular letter forms.

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<sup>74</sup> F. M. Cross Jr., "The Invention and Development of the Alphabet," in *The Origins of Writing* (W. M. Senner, ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1989), 88; C. A. Rollston, "Writing and Writing Materials," in *New Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*. Vol. 5 (S-Z) (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006), 937-38; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 85-90.

<sup>75</sup> Often only surviving in fragments.

<sup>76</sup> Demsky, "On Reading Ancient Inscriptions," 29; idem, "Reading Northwest Semitic Inscriptions," 69-70.

<sup>77</sup> Though the letter forms of the Hazael Eretria plate do not seem to have been particularly affected, it is clear that the engraver accommodated the relief decoration on the plate when incising the text.

<sup>78</sup> Note that many of the inscriptions from Zincirli that are discussed in the Aramaic-script chapter were carved in *bas relief*. This mode of carving often gives the letters of an inscription an overall rounded appearance. Such resultant roundness should not be assigned typological significance.

## Scribal Aptitude

The skill of a scribe or artisan might also have effected letter forms, as an amateur or apprentice might have produced remedial variations of the ideal letter forms.<sup>79</sup> The skill level of a scribe may be determined by comparing a particular inscription to the wider dataset, and some inscriptions appear crude alongside the majority of contemporary examples written in the same script tradition. Though the letter forms of such an inscription are still roughly within the acceptable range of variance, they are poorly so and are cruder versions of the ideal form, displaying such things as atypically crooked lines, lines that overlap in unexpected places, or oddly variant forms of a letter within the same inscription (that is, though all of the examples of a particular letter might fit within the acceptable range of variance, one can see that the scribe was struggling to make the same form repeatedly). Crude inscriptions are typically associated with less formal texts, but formal, even monumental examples exist (e.g., Phoenician Malta stele).

Note that there might be other, non-palaeographic, clues that an inscription was made by a lesser-skilled scribe. For example, the content of the Tel Zayit abecedary and of the Gezer calendar (from south Canaan) suggest that they might have been some sort of writing exercises. Furthermore, the Gezer calendar stone is a **palimpsest** (a writing surface that has been used, erased, and used again, often repeatedly); its soft limestone medium was used over and over again, suggesting it was used for writing practice.

In this context I would like to mention **graffiti** (informal writings that have been scribbled or scratched, typically in caves or on architectural structures) (e.g., Aramaic Hamath bricks). Graffiti could or could not have been inscribed by trained scribes. Those who executed them might have been fully literate or they might have only been able to sign their name. We expect a graffito's script to be

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<sup>79</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 7-8, 75; Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, 120-22; idem, "An Old Hebrew Stone Inscription from the City of David: A Trained Hand and a Remedial Hand on the Same Inscription," in *Puzzling out the Past: Studies in Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures in Honor of Bruce Zuckerman* (M. J. Lundberg, S. Fine, W. T. Pitard; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 189-96.

cursive/informal<sup>80</sup> because of its very nature. Moreover, we should not assume that this script will be full of idiosyncrasies, though we would not be surprised to find them. Texts such as graffiti or crudely-inscribed texts should be incorporated into a typological dataset with caution and always in comparison with well-executed inscriptions.

### **Overly-Stringent Palaeographical Analysis**

Should palaeographers not recognize the acceptable range of variance in a letter's form, they may be overly rigid in their palaeographic analysis and overestimate the importance of a minor letter feature. I mention here one example of overly-stringent analysis that has particular bearing on the epigraphic material covered in this dissertation and that I reference often in the following chapters. When discussing the shape of the "heads" or "noses" of letters (see diagram below) such as *'alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, and *resh*, palaeographers typically describe them as either round or pointed and, at times, assign typological significance to this letter feature.<sup>81</sup>

After collating the early Iron II inscriptions, I can state with certainty that round and pointed forms of these letters appear side-by-side in the epigraphic corpora of Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew inscriptions (at times in the same inscription) throughout this period; and, therefore, this should not be considered a typologically significant feature of these letters in this particular period. In fact, many inscriptions exhibit blunted letter forms whose heads/noses are somewhat in between round and pointed forms. I have also determined that one reason that heads/noses may take alternate forms during this period is that their shape was often affected by the medium on which they were inscribed. For example, letter noses often tend to appear more pointed in chiseled or incised inscriptions and rounder in those executed with ink.

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<sup>80</sup> The cursive/informal expression of a script is defined below.

<sup>81</sup> See the discussion of the heads of *'alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *pe*, and *resh* in the Phoenician-script chapter. Also in this chapter, cf. the discussion of *bet*'s foot and of 2- and z-shaped *yods*. See the discussion of the heads of *bet*, *dalet*, and *resh* in the Aramaic-script chapter. Also in this chapter, cf. the discussion of *bet*'s foot, of 2- and z-shaped *yods*, and of curved and angular *lameds*. See the discussion of the head of *bet* in the chapter on tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan. Also in this chapter, cf. the discussion of 2- and z-shaped *yods*. Cf. the discussion of *pe* in the Hebrew-script chapter.

## “Ductus Drives Development”

### Formal and Cursive, Two Expressions of the Same Script

When examining the corpus of Northwest Semitic inscriptions from the early Iron II period, one sees not only individual script traditions that are associated with particular regions and polities—Phoenician, Aramaic, Hebrew—but also (at least traces) of two distinct expressions of each of these scripts. I have chosen to classify these two expressions as formal and cursive. As will be seen, inherent in any discussion of formal and cursive script expressions is the purpose for which such expressions were employed, i.e. the types of inscriptions for which they were used, especially as the type of inscription being created determined the type of media that was employed.<sup>82</sup>

I define a **formal script** as one that was executed with care and precision. Peckham notes that a formal script “tends to be more square, or segmented (angular), and apparently required a more frequent lifting of the writing instrument from the writing material.”<sup>83</sup> A formal script is often chiseled, incised, or carved in relief in stone (lapidary), as it is the typical script of inscriptions intended for public display. Thus, it is especially used in monumental inscriptions (e.g., memorial, victory, and votive/dedicatory stelae; building and tomb inscriptions). However, a formal script may also be used to inscribe smaller texts such as prestige or votive items, often made of metal or ivory, and also intended for public display on some level (e.g., Aramaic Hazael booty inscriptions, Kilamuwa sheath, Bar-Rakib bars).<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> P. K. McCarter Jr., *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* (Washington D. C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1994), 64-65; Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, 47-82; Schniedewind, “Problems in the Paleographic Dating of Inscriptions,” 408.

<sup>83</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 3.

<sup>84</sup> Athas likewise states that the Arslan Tash and Nimrud ivories are comparable to the Tel Dan stele, because they “appear to be dedicatory inscriptions for display purposes” (*The Tel Dan Inscription*, 95).

Note that the scripts of small prestige items occasionally appear to have some cursive characteristics; this might suggest they could be categorized somewhere in between formal and cursive. For a further breakdown of scripts, see F. M. Cross Jr., “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (G. E. Wright, ed.; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 133-202, esp. 144 = *Leaves*, 3-43, esp. 13; cf. idem, “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: III. The Inscribed Jar Handles from Gibeon,” in *BASOR* 168 (1962): 18-23 = *Leaves*, 125-28; Naveh, *Early History*, 7-8, 75; idem, “A Palaeographic Note,” 68-69; Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician*

I define a **cursive (or informal) script** as one that was typically executed with care but that also facilitates rapid execution, that is, its letter forms could be produced quickly and efficiently.<sup>85</sup> To quote Peckham again, “One which is written in a fluid, or rounded, manner, with an economy of movement on the part of the scribe’s hand.”<sup>86</sup> Cursive inscriptions are often painted in ink or incised in wet clay before firing or dry clay after firing. This is the typical script of administrative texts (e.g., Hebrew Arad and Samaria ostraca) and graffiti (e.g., Aramaic Hamath bricks). Nonetheless, public display texts may also be written in a cursive script, for example in religious texts on plaster (e.g., Phoenician and Hebrew Kuntillet ‘Ajrud plaster texts).<sup>87</sup> In this regard, however, plaster could hardly be incised without chipping. Such a medium lends itself to the use of ink, and therefore, cursive script. One could argue that graffiti are intended for public display on some level, but by their very nature they are quite informal and thus also lend themselves to the use of cursive script.<sup>88</sup>

A few remarks on other genres of inscriptions: marks of ownership on vessels were frequently written in cursive script, especially when painted in ink or incised in wet clay. However, when they were incised in dry clay after having been fired, this medium lent itself to a more angular and less-flowing and, therefore, more formal execution. Also, the script(s) found in scribal exercises or apprentice texts is frequently difficult to categorize, because these texts were often executed in a less-than-perfect manner; indeed, in addition to their content, such execution often aids in identifying them as “exercises.” They appear in a variety of media (Tel Zayit abecedary – incised in hard

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*Scripts*, 3; B. L. Haines, “A Paleographical Study of Aramaic Inscriptions Antedating 500 B.C.” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966), 25. Still, a multiplicity of script designations can become a bit cumbersome. Naveh himself questions the usefulness of over classifying scripts (*Early History*, 8). Rollston states, “A cursive script is often categorized as formal cursive, semi-formal cursive, or free cursive. . . it should be noted that within the linear Northwest Semitic scripts, the cursive tradition was varied, and although the terms formal, semi-formal, and free are helpful conventions, they should not be considered precise and distinct categories” (“Scribal Education,” 50 n.8).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. the remarks of Athas, “Informal handwriting is more likely to contain stylistic deviations than formal writing, which is carved and given more thought, care, and time. . . Needless to say, each case must be judged on its own merits” (*The Tel Dan Inscription*, 122, 122 n.73).

<sup>86</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 3.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. the Deir ‘Alla inscriptions. For a bibliography of these inscription, see Ahituv, *Echoes*, 465.

<sup>88</sup> Note that Jewish scribes in the Herodian period often employed both formal and cursive script expressions on the same medium (papyrus/velum) (Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 133-202 = *Leaves*, 3-43).

limestone;<sup>89</sup> Gezer calendar – incised in soft limestone; Kuntillet ‘Ajrud exercises – ink painted on pottery).

Based upon my examination of the early Iron II epigraphic data, it seems that initially when a script tradition first appeared, it developed along a single trajectory. However, it soon<sup>90</sup> began to diverge into the two expressions just discussed: formal and cursive (informal). This happened as a result of the fact that scribes were producing **two types of documents, both formal** (especially monumental texts intended for display) **and informal** (inscriptions that are administrative and need to be executed rapidly and efficiently). Because of the need for efficiency when producing informal texts, the script as used in these texts “demanded a certain streamlining” and took on a cursive appearance, and the more often (and the faster) it was used, the more it developed; especially in comparison with the script as it was used in formal texts, where it often retained a more conservative appearance.<sup>91</sup> Consequently, scribes quickly began to have two versions of their script in mind—one to employ in formal documents, another more efficient version to use for administrative purposes.

Moreover, because it was the same scribes who were producing both the formal and the informal inscriptions, the cursive script influenced the development of the formal. Though the formal script lagged somewhat behind the cursive, it eventually followed suit, developing along the same lines.<sup>92</sup> We know that it was the cursive expression of the script that developed more quickly than the formal and that drove the development of the overall script, because the changes that occurred in the script and that determined the course of its development in subsequent periods can best be explained by the rapid movement of a scribe’s hand, especially with nib pen and ink<sup>93</sup> or with a stylus in wet

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<sup>89</sup> If this is indeed a scribal exercise/practice text.

<sup>90</sup> Based on the evidence at hand, I would argue for a period of roughly a half century for each of the major Northwest Semitic script traditions.

<sup>91</sup> See especially, Naveh, “A Palaeographic Note,” 71 n.17; idem, *Early History*, 7, 62.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> G. van der Kooij, “The Identity of Trans-Jordanian Alphabetic Writing in the Iron Age,” *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 (1987): 107-21; idem, *Early North-West Semitic Script Traditions: An Archaeological Study of*

clay.<sup>94</sup> It is writing quickly that caused forms to change, as scribes got in the habit of making new and easier-to-execute forms.<sup>95</sup>

One result of this development is that sometimes both a well-established, more conservative form and a more evolved form of the same letter appear within the same inscription (e.g., *waw* in the Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription; *zayin* in the Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions and Aramaic Melqart stele;<sup>96</sup> and *qop* in the Aramaic Kitamuwa mortuary stele). One should not be surprised to see these **dual forms** (also called **by-forms or allophorms**) and should, in fact, expect them.<sup>97</sup> Even though in formal inscriptions such as these, the scribe would have been carefully and deliberately executing the letters forms, he also had the cursive forms of the letters in his mind and his hand was used to making them. This would especially have had an effect if a scribe was painting (a medium that lends itself to cursive execution) a formal inscription on stone before a stone mason inscribed it.<sup>98</sup> Examples such as these show that a script was constantly under the pressure of the cursive execution of its letter forms. Constantly vulnerable to change, because it was constantly being used. (This is discussed in more detail below in the section on "Changes in Letter Forms.")

When cursive forms of a letter appear in a more formal inscription, especially in a tradition in which little to no cursive inscriptions have been recovered, for example the early Iron II Phoenician

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*the Linear Alphabetic Scripts up to c.500 B.C.; Ink and Argillary* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1986); Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>94</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>95</sup> McCarter states, "change in letter-forms is motivated by the principle of economy that is inherent in the alphabetic system of writing. That is, the direction of change is generally towards simplification in the scribal execution of the various signs and elimination of ambiguities in stance and direction" ("The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet," *BA* 37 (1974): 56. Cf. his comments on "form(s) which can be produced by a simpler operation of the scribe's hand . . . (that) anticipate the development of the typological sequence" (*The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975.], 34 & n.16); and his examples of the effect of scribal ductus on the letter forms in Phoenician script (53-55, 59, 61).

<sup>96</sup> J. M. Miller does not seem to be aware of this principle, for he states, "If a single scribe in the course of a brief five-line inscription could alternate between 'archaic' and 'developed' forms, surely this raises questions about the usefulness of this particular typological feature for dating purposes" (in J. A. Dearman and J. M. Miller, "The Melqart Stele and the Ben Hadads of Damascus: Two Studies," *PEQ* 115 [1983]: Part II, p.98). On the contrary, this feature is particularly useful, because it captures the period of time in which particular letters were in transition.

<sup>97</sup> McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 34, 34 n.16.

<sup>98</sup> This practice is discussed in more detail below.



corpus, P. K. McCarter refers to these forms as evidence for a “lost cursive,”<sup>99</sup> that is a cursive script that was being used alongside a formal script but of which we have little to no examples.

### Scribal Ductus

Scribal **ductus** is the *way* in which a scribe executed a letter form, including the number of strokes with which he made it, the order in which he produced these strokes, and the direction in which he moved the writing instrument as he made them.<sup>100</sup> If we say that the cursive execution of a script drove the development of a script series, then a scribe’s ductus as he produced a letter affected the development of that letter. One can at times see exactly how a particular letter evolved just by following the movement of a scribe’s hand as preserved in the epigraphic record. Thus, just as it is the cursive expression of a script that drove its overall development, so it is the ductus of individual letter forms that drove the cursive expression. “The script as a whole develops as a result of modifications in the individual letters, such as the omission of elements, the positional shift of strokes, alterations in stance, the joining of elements formerly written separately and, occasionally, the introduction of new elements.”<sup>101</sup>

Because ductus drives the development of scripts, it is an important focus of palaeographic analysis. Ductus is most easily assessed in cursive inscriptions written in ink or incised in wet clay. In these media, it is often easy to see the overlap of strokes, revealing the order in which they were executed. Likewise, one may often see the direction in which strokes were made, because of the direction in which the ink or wet clay was drug by the writing implement. Often at the beginning of a stroke, there will be a heavier blob of ink or dam of clay, where the scribe initially set down the writing instrument. Similarly, the end of a stroke will often taper off, revealing where the scribe

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<sup>99</sup> McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 34, 34 n.16, 51, 63. So also Demsky, “Reading Northwest Semitic Inscriptions,” 70.

<sup>100</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>101</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 7.

lifted the writing instrument. Though in theory, one might also be able to analyze the ductus of a lapidary inscription (cf. inscriptions incised in dry clay after firing), in my study of the early Iron II lapidary inscriptions, I have discovered two things: either ductus cannot be determined at all, as it is impossible to tell which strokes were made first or the order in which they were chiseled; or there was no consistent ductus in the chiseling of at least some lapidary inscriptions (e.g., Aramaic Tel Dan stele, especially *qop*). For, it is likely that the final forms of many lapidary inscriptions were executed not by scribes but by stone masons. In fact, we know that before a lapidary inscription was chiseled, a scribe sometimes first painted the inscription on the stone.<sup>102</sup> A major tenet stressed by Zuckerman is the role of the scribe in the development of letter forms and changes in scripts. He admonishes palaeographers to be “scribe-oriented” as opposed to simply “letter oriented.” He states, “One must take into consideration more than simply the end-product. One must, in fact, focus not only on this result but also take into consideration the techniques and tools of manufacture: the process that gave rise to that result.”<sup>103</sup>

Some have argued that formal and cursive inscriptions should not be compared alongside one another as they represent completely distinct traditions.<sup>104</sup> In the early Iron II period, the time the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic scripts emerged, the development of the cursive and formal expressions of these scripts ran closely together. Thus, they may appear side-by-side in the same script typology (as long as each of the inscriptions are labeled clearly as either formal or cursive). Actually, comparing these script expressions allows palaeographers to better understand precisely

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<sup>102</sup> A fragmentary stone tablet was discovered at Tell Aushariye in the Dutch excavations led by J. Eidem. It was found in an Iron Age level in a pit in Area B. It is inscribed in ink, and the first few lines are incised on top of the ink. Only portions of the inscription are legible, but the script seems to date to the eighth century. F. M. Fales and A. Lemaire are working on the publication of the text. As of yet, no photographs have been published that allow for further palaeographic analysis of the script. See especially, K. L. Younger, “Some of What’s New in Old Aramaic Epigraphy,” *NEA* 70 (2007): 142; F. M. Fales, “Old Aramaic,” *HSK* 36 (2011): 565; the Tell Aushariye excavation website, n. p. [cited 17 September 2013]. Online: <http://aushariye.hum.ku.dk/english/ironage>. For other similar examples see A. van Selms, “Some Remarks on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscriptions,’” *BO* 32 (1975): 7; F. R. Kraus, *Vom mesopotamischen Menschen der altbabylonischen Zeit und seiner Welt* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing, 1973), 20.

<sup>103</sup> Zuckerman with Swartz Dodd, “Pots and Alphabets,” 103-113, 131-32. Cf. their discussion of “handedness” (107-13); they also stress not only ductus but “mode of manufacture” (121).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 95; Schniedewind, “Problems in the Palaeographic Dating of Inscriptions,” 405-12. Cf. my exclusion of the seal script from this dissertation (discussed above).

how a script changed as it was cursively executed. Especially for the early Iron II period, formal and cursive inscriptions work as two sides of the same coin. Formal inscriptions are extremely consistent in their execution of letter forms. They are often longer and provide many examples of the same letter, which enables one to get a better sense of a letter's ideal form.<sup>105</sup> Conversely, the value of cursive inscriptions is that new letter forms often appear there first, revealing the direction in which a script was moving.<sup>106</sup>

J. Naveh has drawn attention to the particularly cursive appearance of the Hebrew script,<sup>107</sup> noting especially the curving of letter tails, the extension of horizontal top strokes, and the appearance of tick marks at the ends of letters (even in formal/monumental inscriptions). These features are discussed in full in the chapter on Hebrew script; however, a few words about them here are illustrative, as they are all “byproduct(s) of scribal ductus,”<sup>108</sup> that result in permanent change in some letter forms. **Ticks** (also called **reflexes** and mentioned above) provide a particularly good example, as they “ostensibly originate(d) from the rapidity with which the scribes penned the more cursive script.” As a scribe moved quickly from one letter to write the next, he drug the ink. We know this because ticks are always at the end of strokes and are formed in the direction of writing.<sup>109</sup> Examples of scribal ductus at work in script development are also found in the Aramaic script, as the best

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<sup>105</sup> Cross, “Alphabets and Pots,” 123-24 = *Leaves*, 345-46. McLean states that the ideal form of a given letter had a certain sequence and direction of strokes, as well as some basic proportions (“Palaeography,” 59). Still, as discussed above, in lapidary inscriptions ductus was often eliminated by the stone mason.

<sup>106</sup> Comparison of ninth-century texts in the Hebrew script (see chapter 6) provides a good example of the way in which the cursive script expression started to outpace the development of the formal but also to influence it. Compare especially the form of *qop* in the formal Mesha stele to the form of this letter in the contemporary cursive Arad and Tel Rehov inscriptions, and then with the form of this letter in Hebrew inscriptions (both formal and cursive) from the eighth century.

<sup>107</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 66-67, 69, 97, cf. 75; idem, “The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan in the Iron Age,” in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (J. H. Sanders, ed.; Garden City, N.J., 1970), 279-80 = *Studies*, 5-6; cf. idem, “A Palaeographic Note,” 1968, 71 = *Studies*, 13. See my response to Naveh in the Hebrew-script chapter.

<sup>108</sup> McCarter, personal communication.

<sup>109</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. So also, F. M. Cross Jr., “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II. The Murabba’at Papyrus and the Letter Found near Yabneh-Yam,” *BASOR* 165 (1962): 36 = *Leaves*, 117.

examples of the incipient features of this script are first seen in the eighth-century cursive inscriptions from Nimrud and Hamath. Note especially the opening of various letter heads in these inscriptions.

## V. Building a Script Typology

### Determining Typologically Significant Features (versus Idiosyncrasies)

How do palaeographers determine which letter features are typologically significant in the development of a letter's form? A **typologically significant letter feature** is a characteristic that not only appears but is also sustained throughout a specific period and potentially develops further in a subsequent period or periods. It is the "continual modification" of letter forms that establishes typological sequences that can be traced by palaeographers.<sup>110</sup> As a corollary to this, a letter feature may be considered **idiosyncratic** if it is not repeated in the subsequent development of a letter form. Idiosyncratic features should be considered typologically insignificant, and, therefore, a letter form with these features should not be included in a script typology.<sup>111</sup>

### Changes in Letter Forms: Anticipatory and Random Forms, Incipient Features, Old and New Forms, Permanent and Ephemeral Features/Forms

**Anticipatory forms.** As previously discussed, ductus drives development. Thus, a simplified letter form resulting from rapid cursive execution might eventually begin to be made that way all the time. Sometimes though, there is some lag time between when a form first appears in a script series and when it begins to be executed that way on a regular basis. A letter form may be said to **anticipate** a change if it appears once in a script tradition, with no (real) contemporary examples; but then, in a subsequent period, more examples of this form begin to appear and to take hold as the standard form (one of the standard forms) of a letter by the end of that period or in the next (e.g. *kap*

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<sup>110</sup> McLean, "Palaeography," 59.

<sup>111</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 3.

and *ʿayin* in the Amman Citadel inscription, *ʿayin* in the Kition Bowl). In this regard, McCarter states, “certain features of (a) script (may) seem to run ahead of the general development of the sequence and to anticipate later forms in some respects . . . (though) the script as a whole fits well into its place in the sequence.”<sup>112</sup>

Scribes had to execute a new cursive letter form repeatedly before it became a permanent part of a script tradition. Just as occasionally a scribe executed a letter rapidly and the resultant form anticipated the change of that letter in a following period; so also, one finds in the epigraphic record **random letter forms** that are clearly the result of cursive execution but that appear only in a single inscription within a particular script tradition (i.e. this new letter form did not take hold and did not become a part of that script tradition). The Phoenician script provides several good examples of this phenomenon. Ticks appear on *ʿalep* in the tenth-century ʾAhiḥram sarcophagus<sup>113</sup> and also on *zayin*, *samek*, and *taw* in the eighth-century Karatepe inscriptions. While ticks do eventually become part of Phoenician *samek* and *taw*’s letter forms, they are not present in the subsequent development of *ʿalep* or *zayin*.

**Incipient features** are the first traces of change in a letter—change that, once it appears, is seen regularly in the form of that letter into the next period and that indicates that a **new letter form** (a **neophorm**<sup>114</sup>) has emerged. Incipient letter features are understood best in light of their later, more fully developed form(s). As discussed above, palaeography cannot be done in isolation.

**Old and New Forms, Permanent and Ephemeral Features/Forms.** Just as older and newer letter forms may appear side-by-side within the same inscription (cf. dual forms discussed above), so also when comparing inscriptions from the same script tradition and same time period,

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<sup>112</sup> McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 50-51.

<sup>113</sup> Note the statement of W. F. Albright Jr., “It is now certain that the peculiar quasi-cursive aleph of ʾAhiḥram is a local graphic peculiarity, which did not last long, since it is absent from both earlier and later inscriptions. The backward thrust of the bottom horizontal stroke of *bet* in Yehimilk and ʾAbda’ is also an ephemeral graphic fad, somewhat analogous to the backward thrust often found at the bottom of a cursive Hebrew *bet* of today (originating in ligatures, as pointed out to me by Julian Obermann)” (“The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B.C. from Byblus,” *JAOS* 67 [1947]: 154 n.14).

<sup>114</sup> McCarter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 50-51.

older and newer letter forms may appear side-by-side in this wider corpus. While, sometimes a newly developed, simpler letter form would simply replace the old, other times the two forms existed side-by-side in the script tradition for a long time or in perpetuity.

A period where two forms existed side-by-side in the epigraphic record for a short time, until one form replaced the other, is referred to as a **transition period**. Once a new letter form appeared and caught on, the old form did not immediately disappear. There was a period of time before it dropped out of the repertoire. The process of script development was evolutionary, for no chief scribe sent out a memo to his colleagues that said “today we change the form.” As Naveh states, “A new letter form would first appear sporadically in the writing of a few individuals, usually alongside the older form. Even after the new form had become entirely accepted, the older one remained in use for several decades.”<sup>115</sup> There would have been some lag time before a form became the ideal and it then was taught, learned, and passed on in scribal circles. McCarter notes that older and more newly-trained scribes would have worked alongside one another. Older scribes would have been using older forms for a long time and perhaps would have been reticent to change; however, they also would have been influenced by the work of the newly-trained scribes around them. This circumstance has prompted McCarter to raise questions about the professional longevity of scribes.<sup>116</sup>

Furthermore, a new letter form might only stay around for a short time (long enough to be considered typologically significant for at least one period, i.e. not an idiosyncrasy that appears randomly) but then disappear altogether. The Hebrew script provides a good example. During the ninth and especially eighth century, various Hebrew letter forms developed ticks, and this development is a particularly diagnostic feature of Hebrew script for this period. Interestingly, these

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<sup>115</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 7.

<sup>116</sup> McCarter, personal communication.

ticks became a permanent feature of the forms of some of these letters in their subsequent development (*zayin*, *samek*, and *šade*) but not of others (*'alep* and *yod*).<sup>117</sup>

## VI. Comparative Analyses

### Dating an Inscription Palaeographically: Chronological Development

Palaeographers date an inscription palaeographically by evaluating all of the letter forms within a particular text. The more typologically significant features in a particular inscription, the better palaeographic assessment they are able to make. Palaeographers look particularly at the amount of older and newer forms within a text and use the sum of the forms to narrow the date. Cross states precisely, “the tension between letters retaining old features and those which exhibit new features is crucial to dating.”<sup>118</sup> Furthermore, the appearance of dual forms within an inscription are particularly valuable to a palaeographer for, as mentioned above, they indicate a period of transition in a letter’s form and help one more precisely date specific palaeographical developments.

Not all letters provide the same amount of palaeographic data, as different letters evolve at different speeds.<sup>119</sup> Some letters were used frequently in the language of a particular scribal group, and, consequently, they were written frequently and, therefore, underwent more change. Other letters were used less frequently and, thus, their forms remained more conservative, exhibiting fewer diachronic changes (e.g., *gimel* and *ṭet* in Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew scripts).

Such is the method I employ when assigning palaeographic dates to the inscriptions covered in this dissertation. Personally, I do not believe that we can date an inscription, solely on palaeographic grounds, to a more precise range than about a half century, sometimes no more precise than a century. I typically assign an inscription to a particular century, and, then, if possible, add the

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<sup>117</sup> Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II,” 36 = *Leaves*, 117. Likewise, Naveh states, “Often the new form continued to develop, though sometimes it would disappear and the older form would prevail” (*Early History*, 7).

<sup>118</sup> Cross, “Alphabets and Pots,” 131 = *Leaves*, 348.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*

qualifier “early, middle, or late,” such as “mid-ninth century” or “late ninth-early eighth century.” If a script changed slowly over several subsequent periods, this creates a broad range to which an inscription may be dated palaeographically (and vice-versa if a script changed quickly).<sup>120</sup> There is a degree of latitude in script typologies, just as in archaeological pottery typologies; there must be a +/- of some decades.<sup>121</sup>

When assigning palaeographic dates, I am always being informed by and working in tandem with date parameters from an inscription’s archaeological context and/or internal content. However, if either of these narrow the date of a particular inscription, then that does not (necessarily) mean that the *palaeographic* range into which an inscription fits is narrowed. Moreover, palaeographers should not just leave the job of dating to the archaeologists and the epigraphers who are deciphering an inscription’s internal content. It is our job to form solid script typologies from securely-dated inscriptions, in order that they may be used by the archaeologists and epigraphers in tandem with their dates, so that together we may contribute to the understanding of the history of a particular period.

### **Determining that a New Script Tradition is Present: Comparative Evaluation**

Palaeographers determine that a new script tradition has emerged when they see a quantifiable amount of incipient features in an inscription(s). Cross states, “One can speak of a national script only when it develops a cluster of palaeographical features which distinguish it from its mother script (and other national script styles derived from the ancestral script).”<sup>122</sup>

McCarter explains the development of a new script well.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 131-32 = *Leaves*, 348.

<sup>121</sup> Rollston, “Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions,” 85, 88; cf. B. Sass, *The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium B.C.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1988), 145.

It seems that archaeological pottery typologies and radiocarbon dating have similar date ranges (T. E. Levy and T. Higham, eds., *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* [London: Equinox, 2005]). Note, however, that archaeological dates are typically given preference over palaeographic dates, as archaeologists, when building pottery typologies, have at their disposal much more data than palaeographers, when building script typologies; and as discussed above, the more data, the better the typology.

<sup>122</sup> F. M. Cross Jr., “Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts,” *BASOR* 238 (1980): 13 = *Leaves*, 225.



By studying the early development of . . . national scripts, we can see that the advent of such a new branch was not a sudden occurrence. First of all there was a period of preparation during which a particular society would adopt and employ an existing tradition. Then at some later time the writing of the same group would begin to display distinctive features. The new script can soon be distinguished from the parent tradition not only by its innovations but also by any features it may have preserved from the moment of its independence which have subsequently disappeared in the parent tradition itself. Such archaisms are a great aid to the palaeographer in estimating the time when a particular national script emerged.<sup>123</sup>

With regard to new script traditions McCarter speaks of innovations and preservations. An **innovation** is a new form of a letter that appears in the epigraphic record. A **preservation** is a letter form that a new script preserved within in its script tradition but that no longer appeared in its parent script tradition. As will be discussed in the chapter on Hebrew script, the Hebrew script is marked by unique, innovative letter forms, but also by its preservation of earlier tenth-century Phoenician forms, that the Phoenician script, itself, did not maintain.

Note also that palaeographers will often say that a script expresses a certain “tendency” vis-à-vis another script. A **tendency** (or **preference**) “is a methodological, and sometimes arbitrary, criterion of classification. It is a characterization of the dominant influence of a tradition (especially) when that tradition is compared with other traditions.”<sup>124</sup> For example, as mentioned in the following chapters, during the ninth century in the Phoenician script, letter forms have the tendency to rotate in a counterclockwise direction.

### **Common Developments Do Not Indicate Mutual Influence**

At times, contemporary script traditions exhibit similar innovations. This phenomenon might cause one to wonder if these scripts influenced one another. However, if, as discussed above, it is the rapid execution, and especially the simplification, of letter forms that drove their development, then we may expect similar changes to have occurred in distinct script traditions, because all of these traditions were being executed rapidly.<sup>125</sup> Cross’s words of caution serve as a *modus operandi*.

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<sup>123</sup> McCarter, “Early Diffusion of the Alphabet,” 60.

<sup>124</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 4.

<sup>125</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 101.

“When scripts consist of linear or geometric signs, false similarities may occur between scripts (even) with no relation or common origin; relationships must be determined by historical-typological sequences. Lack of rigor in this ‘makes all things possible.’”<sup>126</sup> Furthermore, if contemporary scripts do derive from a common parent tradition, and thus originally had the same letter forms, one might argue that there are only so many ways in which these letters could have developed—hence, similar developments could have occurred within different scripts. For example, the head of *‘ayin* opened in Aramaic script during the eighth century, and a similar change happened in Phoenician *‘ayin* by the late sixth-early fifth century. These are similar yet mutually exclusive developments. By the seventh century, Aramaic had branched (well) away from the Phoenician script out of which it developed, it does not follow that it later influenced that script after diverging from it.<sup>127</sup>

## VII. Presenting Palaeographic Analyses Visually: Drawings and Script Charts

After analyzing a particular inscription, palaeographers typically present their analysis not only in written form but also visually by producing a drawing and script chart of the inscription. These may be produced in digital form by using graphics-editing programs such as Adobe Illustrator.<sup>128</sup> **Drawings** are prepared in an effort to establish a solid reading of an inscription, as well as to illustrate the distinctive palaeographic features of its script. **Script charts** have a dual purpose. The first is to give an accurate representation of the ideal form(s) of each of the letters in a particular inscription, including any new forms that appear alongside older ones (dual forms, by-forms,

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<sup>126</sup> F. M. Cross Jr., “Early Alphabetic Scripts,” in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventh-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research (1900-1975): Archaeology and Early Israelite History* (F. M. Cross Jr., ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1979), 102. Cross made this statement with regard to Bronze Age Early Alphabetic scripts; however, the principle behind the statement holds true for Iron Age scripts, as well.

<sup>127</sup> Naveh argues that once the three major Northwest Semitic scripts—Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic—became independent, they did not influence each other; however, they did influence the script traditions employed within Moab and Ammon, regions with “lesser measures of cultural independence” (*Early History*, 99-112).

<sup>128</sup> Information about Adobe Illustrator can be found on Adobe’s homepage, n.p. [cited 17 September 2013]. Online: [http://www.adobe.com/mena\\_en/products/illustrator.html](http://www.adobe.com/mena_en/products/illustrator.html). Note also, H. D. D. Parker and C. A. Rollston, “Teaching Epigraphy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Epigraphic Digital Lab,” forthcoming; A. Shaus, I. Finkelstein, and E. Piasetzky, “Bypassing the Eye of the Beholder: Automated Ostraca Facsimile Evaluation,” *MAARAV* 17 (2010): 7-20.

allophorms). The second is to illustrate a palaeographic discussion of a script's typologically significant letter features/forms, that is to illustrate a discussion about the typology of a particular script and to make it easy to see change in letter forms and, therefore, to compare one script series to another. Note that horizontal, as opposed to vertical, script charts are preferred, as horizontal charts can include more palaeographic information than vertical charts, such as the relationship of a letter to the ceiling line and to surrounding letters.<sup>129</sup>

## **VIII. Structure of This Dissertation**

### **Presenting the Data Verbally: Written Chapters**

The body of this dissertation contains three main chapters, one for each of the major Northwest Semitic script traditions of the early Iron II period—Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew. I begin each chapter by conducting a palaeographic analysis of individual inscriptions in the respective traditions. Following these individual treatments, I analyze the inscriptions in comparison with each other and with later (and earlier in the case of Phoenician) inscriptions written in the same script tradition, as well as with contemporary inscriptions written in the two other traditions. My goal in this final analysis is to trace both the chronological development of each script series, as well as the comparative differences between them.

I assess each script based on its letter forms and each letter form based on its features, which include shape, size, stance with regard to vertical orientation, and placement in relation to other letters and to the scribal ceiling line. When analyzing each letter form, I endeavor to answer the following questions. (See the terms employed and examples given in the diagram in Fig. 1.)

**Shape** – What is the basic shape of the letter? When describing individual letter forms, I often use the following terms: head, nose, tongue, foot, shoulder, spine, stem, tail, vertical shaft

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<sup>129</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

(essentially vertical not absolute), horizontal bar (essentially horizontal not absolute), and oblique (a line that is neither perpendicular nor parallel).<sup>130</sup>

**Size** – With respect to other letters, is a letter form relatively the same size or is it smaller or larger?

**Stance** – Does a letter form stand upright or has it rotated from the vertical in a clockwise<sup>131</sup> or counterclockwise<sup>132</sup> direction?

**Placement** – In what position does a letter form stand in relation to the scribal ceiling line?

### **Presenting the Data Visually: Images, Drawings, Script Charts, and Transliterations**

As part of this project, I produced high-quality digital images (especially RTIs) of many of the inscriptions in order to aid in my palaeographic analysis of them. Though these images are not presented here, I hope to make them available soon on InscriptiFact.<sup>133</sup>

As I focused especially on the inscriptions from the ninth-century (as mentioned in the introduction to this study), I made drawings of these texts. These drawings were prepared in an effort to establish solid readings of each inscription, as well as to illustrate the distinctive palaeographic features of each of their scripts. Also, in order to illustrate the verbal discussions of the typological development of the early Northwest Semitic scripts in the early Iron II period that I present in my written chapters, I produced horizontal script charts of these inscriptions. These drawings and script charts were prepared using current digital drawing technologies, most especially Adobe Illustrator; they appear at the end of the dissertation.

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<sup>130</sup> So also *ibid.*

<sup>131</sup> Some refer to this orientation as “top-right.”

<sup>132</sup> Some refer to this orientation as “top-left.”

<sup>133</sup> I am partnering with both the museums and the departments of antiquity in which these various inscriptions are housed, as well as with the West Semitic Research Project, in order to make these images available online on InscriptiFact (see note 57). The interactive nature of RTI images makes it impossible to include them in standard 2-D print form.

While the main goal of this dissertation was to produce palaeographic analyses of the early Iron II Northwest Semitic epigraphic corpus, I also endeavored to provide sound textual readings (**transliterations**) for the ninth-century inscriptions. Moreover, as this is a *palaeographic* study, I produced these transliterations based on what I believe provides the best palaeographic reading of each inscription, not necessarily what provides the most sensible translation. However, in the case where the traces of a letter form allow for several possible readings, I have transliterated (in red; cf. the color-coding discussion below) the letter that provides the best translation, if it is an especially obvious reading (for example, if it is taken from a parallel passage within the same text or from texts written in the same genre [such as grave inscriptions that employ highly formulaic language]). I do not produce new translations of these texts but rely on the previous work of other scholars. Nonetheless, if my palaeographic assessment of a text produces new readings that might alter these previous translations, I do so.

### Color-Coding the Data

In this study, I have made an effort to base my palaeographic conclusions on good letter forms, as stressed above. I have also tried to make clear to readers the exact state of the data used in this analysis. In my drawings of inscriptions, I illustrate not only their letter forms but also damage they have sustained in order to show clearly that at times palaeographic analysis might be hindered by such damage. I have also color-coded my drawings and transliterations. (1) If a letter may be clearly identified and read with certainty and its form is clear, I transliterate it in black and draw it in black. (2) If a letter may be clearly identified and read with certainty but its form cannot be determined with certainty, I transliterate it in black (as its identity/reading is not in question) but draw it in orange (because its precise form is uncertain). If I include letters with less-than-certain forms in my script charts, because there are no better examples, I mark them with an asterisk there. (3) If only the traces of a letter remain and neither its identity/reading nor form can be known with certainty, but I have a suggestion about what I think the letter might be, I transliterate it in red and draw it in yellow. As

stated above, part of the job of a palaeographer is to aid in providing a reading of a text. I do not, however, use these uncertain letters in my palaeographic analysis.

McLean has stated that the “interpretation and reproduction of what the palaeographer perceives means palaeography is both a science and an art.”<sup>134</sup> However, Rollston has countered that by conducting a palaeographic analysis that generates “**an abundance of quantitative data . . .** Northwest Semitic palaeography (might be) more of a science and less of an art.”<sup>135</sup> To the data let us now turn.

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<sup>134</sup> McLean, “Palaeography,” 60.

<sup>135</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

### CHAPTER 3: Phoenician Script in the Early Iron II Period

In this chapter I will establish a palaeographic typology of Phoenician script in the early Iron II period (tenth-eighth centuries BCE). As discussed in the Introduction, the ninth-century epigraphic material is particularly important for any study of early Iron II palaeography, as it is in the ninth century that the first national script, Hebrew, appears alongside Phoenician in the Levantine epigraphic corpus. Thus, I will trace the development of the Phoenician script in this period (1) by comparing ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions with Phoenician inscriptions from both the previous and subsequent centuries, and (2) by comparing these Phoenician inscriptions with early Iron II inscriptions written in the Hebrew script, as well as the other major Northwest Semitic script that appears during this period, Aramaic.<sup>136</sup> The relevant contemporary Hebrew-script inscriptions are discussed in detail in Chapter 6, the relevant contemporary Aramaic inscriptions in Chapter 4.

In order to establish the ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions as a reference point for this study, I will first treat these texts individually and will note their key palaeographic characteristics. There are four ninth-century formal Phoenician inscriptions and one cursive inscription dated to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century (Fig. 3). The formal Kilamuwa stele from Zincirli is securely-dated to the second half of the ninth century, c.825 BCE, based on internal content. The formal Honeyman inscription from Cyprus and the Nora stone and Bosa fragment from Sardinia were discovered in secondary contexts; however, they are dated palaeographically to the first half of the ninth century, as their script fits well between the scripts of the Kilamuwa stele and the securely-dated, tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos (formal royal inscriptions,<sup>137</sup> cursive 'Abda

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<sup>136</sup> The Aramaic script develops during the eighth century.

<sup>137</sup> The 'Ahirom sarcophagus, and the Yehimilk, 'Abiba'al, 'Eliba'al, and Shipitba'al inscriptions. These inscriptions are dated to the tenth century, except for the Shipitba'al inscription, which is dated to the late tenth-early ninth century. See especially *KAI* 1, 4-7; Gibson III:4, 6-9; P. K. McCarter, Jr., *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and the Early Phoenician Scripts* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1975), 30-39, 128-29; B. Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium: The West Semitic Alphabet Ca. 1150-850 BCE*; idem, *The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets* (Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2005); C. A. Rollston, "The Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions: A Response to Sass," *MAARAV* 15 (2008), 57-93; idem, "The Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit

sherd<sup>138</sup>) (Fig. 2), to which these texts will be compared in detail in the following analysis. The one cursive inscription adorns an amphora from Tambourit, Lebanon. The amphora was discovered in a tomb dated by excavators to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century. In addition to the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian texts, I will also compare these ninth-century inscriptions with the securely-dated, eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions from Incirli<sup>139</sup> and Karatepe,<sup>140</sup> as well as with

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Abecedary and Putative Evidence for Israelite Literacy," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context* (R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 76; idem, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 20-27. The 'Ahriam sarcophagus was discovered in 1923 during the excavations of Byblos led by P. Montet. The Yehimilk inscription was found in 1929 at the site of the Crusader Castle at Byblos. The Shipitba'al inscription was found in 1935 during the excavations of Byblos led by M. Dunand. The 'Abiba'al inscription was incised on a statue belonging to Sheshonq I of Egypt (943-922 BCE). It was discovered in Byblos by M. Loeytved the Danish consul to Beirut around 1894. The 'Eliba'al inscription was incised on a statue belonging to Osorkon I of Egypt (955-887 BCE). Nothing is known of its original discovery. It was in various private collections until purchased by the Louvre in 1925. It was first published in 1895 by Prof. Wiedemann of the University of Bonn. (See especially the full discussion in R. Dussaud, "Dédicace d'une statue d'Osorkon I par Eliba'al, roi de Byblos," *Syria* 6 [1925]: 101-17.) These Byblian inscriptions inscribed on objects with external Egyptian references provide a benchmark for the Phoenician script series in the tenth century. The other royal Byblian inscriptions are dated palaeographically from comparison with these inscriptions and from the limited patronymic information provided in each inscription. For purposes of palaeographic comparison, including the general discussion of the palaeographic analysis of Phoenician script at the end of this chapter, note that the stance of the 'Eliba'al script is often difficult to determine because of the way the inscription was fitted around the statue.

<sup>138</sup> *KAI* 8; Gibson III:10. The 'Abda sherd was incised in dry clay. It was found in the same excavations as the Shipitba'al inscription and is dated to the same period, the late tenth-early ninth century. The letter forms of these two inscriptions are strikingly similar and have several of the same idiosyncrasies, which are discussed in more detail below. See especially McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 128-29; J. T. Milik and F. M. Cross Jr., "Inscribed Javelin-Heads from the Period of the Judges: A Recent Discovery in Palestine," *BASOR* (1954), 9-11 n.21 = *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 306 n.22; F. M. Cross Jr. and P. K. McCarter Jr., "Two Archaic Inscriptions on Clay Objects from Byblus," *RSF* I (1973), 3, 8; Rollston, "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions," 72.

<sup>139</sup> The Incirli stele was discovered in 1993, by E. Carter of the University of California, Los Angeles, during a routine regional survey of the Kharamanmarash (ancient Marash) region of Turkey. It was found exposed, in a private garden. The stele bears a trilingual inscription written in Luwian hieroglyphics, Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, and Phoenician alphabetic script. It is dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE, based on its internal content. The inscription mentions 'Awarak of Adana, who has been identified with either Urikki of Que, who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III (744-727 BCE) at the end of the eighth century, or with another ruler of Adana who reigned just before Tiglath-Pileser came to the throne. A palaeographic analysis supports this date. See especially, the Incirli stela information page, n. p. [cited 5 February 2013]. Online: [www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/nelc/stelasite](http://www.humnet.ucla.edu/humnet/nelc/stelasite); S. Kaufman, "The Phoenician Inscription of the Incirli Trilingual: A Tentative Reconstruction and Translation," *MAARAV* 14.2 (2007): 7-26; E. Lipiński, "Phoenician in Anatolia," in *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Dudley, Mass.: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2004), 116-35.

<sup>140</sup> *KAI* 26; Gibson III:15. The Karatepe inscriptions were discovered during explorations at Zincirli from 1946-1947 (H. Th. Bossert and H. Çambel, *Karatepe: A Preliminary Report on a New Hittite Site* [Istanbul: Üniversite Basimevi, 1946]). Zincirli was the capital of the ancient state of Sam'al. Its culture exhibits a blend of Neo-Hittite, Luwian, and Aramaean influences. The Karatepe inscriptions are bilingual inscriptions, inscribed in both Luwian hieroglyphics and Phoenician alphabetic script. They are dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE, based on their internal content. Like the Incirli stele, they mention 'Awarak of Adana, who has been identified with either Urikki of Que, who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III at the end of the eighth century, or with another ruler of Adana who reigned just before Tiglath-Pileser came to the throne. A palaeographic analysis supports this date. See, J. B. Peckham, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1968), 116ff; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 47-48, 132-33; F. M. Cross Jr., "The Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain Dedicated to Hurrian Astarte," *The Harvard Theological Review* 64 (1971), 191-94 and ns. 15, 17 = idem, *Leaves*, 274-75 and ns. 15, 17; idem, "Phoenicians in the West: The Early Epigraphic Evidence," *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* 2 (1986): 118 = *Leaves*, 255; Lipiński,



other Phoenician inscriptions dated palaeographically to the eighth-early seventh centuries (Fig. 4):

the formal Cyprus Ba'al Lebanon bowl,<sup>141</sup> Seville 'Astarte statuette,<sup>142</sup> Carthage pendant,<sup>143</sup> and

Malta stele,<sup>144</sup> and the cursive Kition bowl.<sup>145</sup>

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"Phoenician in Anatolia," 116-35; Rollston, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary," 77; and most especially the recent palaeographic treatment by Röllig with new photographs in H. Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II. Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Inscriptions: Facsimilè Edition* (New York: W. de Gruyter, 1999).

The following Phoenician inscriptions are also securely dated to the eighth century BCE. However, no published photographs of these inscriptions permit independent palaeographic analysis, and I have not yet been able to collate them personally. Therefore, I refrain from offering a palaeographic assessment of these pieces and from discussing them in this chapter.

In 1997, a stone sculpture of a chariot pulled by two bulls was discovered in the field of O. Kadir Özer in Çineköy, Turkey, just south of Adana. The sculpture is inscribed with a text written in both Luwian hieroglyphics and Phoenician alphabetic script. It is dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE based on its internal content, which mentions Urikki of Que, who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III at the end of the eighth century. A palaeographic analysis supports this date. See R. Tekoglu, A. Lemaire, I. Ipek, and A. K. Tosun, "La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy," *CRAI* 144 (2000): 961-1007; Lipiński, "Phoenician in Anatolia," 116-35.

The Phoenician Hasan-Beyli inscription (*KAI* 23) was discovered in c. 1894 by F. Von Luschan in Hasan-Beyli, Turkey, near Zincirli. It is dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE, based on its internal content, which, like the Incirli and Karatepe inscriptions, mentions 'Awarak of Adana, who has been identified with either Urikki of Que, who paid tribute to Tiglath-Pileser III at the end of the eighth century, or with another ruler of Adana who reigned just before Tiglath-Pileser came to the throne. Previous palaeographical analyses of the inscription favor a late eighth—early seventh-century date. A. Lemaire has published the most recent study of the inscription, along with a photograph and bibliography ("L'inscription phénicienne de Hassan-Beyli reconsidérée," *RSF* 11 [1983]: 9-19, Tav. I). See also Lipiński, "Phoenician in Anatolia," 116-35.

A statue head and a stele of the weather god Tarhunzas were discovered in Ivriz, Turkey, in 1986, during the construction of an irrigation channel. The stele is inscribed with a text written in both Luwian hieroglyphics and Phoenician alphabetic script. It is dated to the second half of the eighth century BCE, based both on art historical analysis and on its internal content. The text was commissioned by Warpalawa, King of Tuwana, who is mentioned in annals of Tiglath-Pileser III, which date to c. 738 BCE, and in a letter written by Sargon II to the governor of Que in c. 710 BCE. See B. Dinçol, "New Archaeological and Epigraphical Finds from Ivriz: A Preliminary Report," *Tel Aviv* 21 (1994): 117-28; Lipiński, "Phoenician in Anatolia," 133-35.

<sup>141</sup> *KAI* 31; Gibson III:17; *CIS* I, 5. This bowl was acquired in 1877 from an inhabitant of Limassol and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. This inscription is dated palaeographically to the eighth century BCE. Peckham also believes the content of the inscription points to an eighth-century date, as it mentions "Hiram, King of the Sidonians," thought to be the Sidonian Hiram who was a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III. See especially Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 14-15ff, and his script chart on pages 104-5; Cross, "Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain," 193 n.15 = *Leaves*, 275 n.15; idem, "Phoenicians in the West," 117 = *Leaves*, 254-55; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 45-46, 132-33.

With regard to the script of this inscription, note that in various letters there are both strokes that overlap and strokes that are disconnected in idiosyncratic ways. These have no typological significance. Examples include the *zayin* (in *CIS* I, 5, section A), whose vertical stroke extends above and below its two horizontal strokes, and *het* (in *CIS* I, 5, section D), whose middle, parallel bars at times extend past the vertical shaft. These idiosyncrasies might reflect the skill level of the engraver and/or the difficulty of incising in the metal medium (cf. the Carthage gold pendant below and the discussions of media and scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>142</sup> *KAI* 294; Gibson III:16. This inscription was acquired by the Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla in 1963. It is dated palaeographically to the eighth century. See especially J. M. Solà-Solà, "Nueva inscripción fenicia de España (Hispania 14)," *RSO* 41 (1966): 97-108, Pls. I-II; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 47, 132-33; Cross, "Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain," 189-195 = *Leaves*, 273-75; M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, "Astarte in trono," in *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Israel in Honour of Moshe Dothan* (Haifa: Haifa University, 1993), 163\*-80\*; Rollston, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary," 77; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 37.

<sup>143</sup> Gibson III:18. This inscription was found in a burial place in the cemetery of Douimes in 1894. It is dated palaeographically to the eighth century. For further discussion of both the palaeographic dating and the archaeological context of the inscription, see Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 119-124ff, and his script chart on

Though the majority of the ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions do not come from the Phoenician homeland, comparison of all of the Phoenician texts discussed in this study, those from both inside and outside of Phoenicia proper, demonstrates that the Phoenician script used abroad

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pages 104-5. See also McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 48-49, 132-33; Cross, "Phoenicians in the West," 117 = *Leaves*, 255.

With regard to the script of this inscription, note that in various letters there are both strokes that overlap and strokes that are disconnected in idiosyncratic ways that have no typological significance. Examples include *yod* (line four, letter three), whose top stroke is disconnected from the rest of the letter, and the disjointed way in which the upper stroke of *pe* is executed (line two, letter three). These idiosyncrasies might reflect the skill level of the engraver and/or the difficulty of incising in the metal medium (cf. the Ba'al Lebanon bowl above and the discussions of media and scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>144</sup> *KAI* 61, A; Gibson III:21. This inscription was found in 1820, buried in a field in Rabat-Medina. (A second stele was found along with it; however, that stele disappeared in the possession of a local family). It is dated palaeographically to the late eighth-early seventh centuries. See especially Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 129ff and his script chart on pages 106-7. He dates the inscription to the second half of the seventh century. Cross ("Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain," 193-94 n.16 = *Leaves*, 275 n.16), McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 49-50), and Rollston ("Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar," 77; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 37) prefer a late eighth-century date. Note the poor execution of this piece.

<sup>145</sup> The script of this inscription is cursive (incised after firing) and dates palaeographically to the eighth century. This date is also favored by Rollston ("Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar," 77; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 37).

When it was first analyzed by A. Dupont-Sommer, he dated the inscription palaeographically to c.850-800 ("Une inscription phénicienne archaïque récemment trouvée à Kition, Chypre," *MAIBL* 44 [1970]: 2-26, Pl. I; "Les Phéniciens à Chypre" *RDAC* [1974]: 89-94. See also his analysis in M. G. Guzzo Amadasi and V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition III. inscriptions phéniciennes* [Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, 1977], #D21 on pages 149-60, Pl. XVII).

R. B. Coote, however, argued for an early seventh-century date, based upon the advanced features of various letter forms ("The Kition Bowl," *BASOR* 220 [1975], 49; cf. McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 44, 132-33; Cross, "Phoenicians in the West," 9 and n.5 = *Leaves*, 254-55 and n.8).

The inscription was found in the 'Astarte temple at Kition below a destruction layer that was dated by the excavator to c.800 BCE (F. Barreca, *L'espansione fenicia nel Mediterraneo* [Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1971], 164-69; Guzzo Amadasi and Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition III*, #D21 on pages 149-60, Pl. XVII).

The discrepancy between Coote's palaeographic date and the archaeological date seemed best understood by the fact that the script of the Kition bowl is cursive, and, therefore, naturally ran ahead of the contemporary lapidary script to some degree. (With regard to Kition's cursive features, see note 395. Also, cf. the discussion of cursive and lapidary script expressions in the Methodology chapter.) One letter in the Kition Bowl that caused palaeographers great pause was the z-shaped *zayin*, as this form typically had not been observed in Phoenician inscriptions before the sixth century (Coote, "The Kition Bowl," 48-49; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 55). However, we know now that both the more typical i-shaped *zayin* and the z-shaped *zayin* were in use at Karatepe in the eighth century (see "Separate Inscriptions Pho/S. I. a and b" on pages 75-76 and Pls. 106-7 of Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*). (Note that the lapidary script of the Karatepe inscriptions has several cursive features. See note 395). The appearance of this z-shaped *zayin* in the Karatepe inscriptions confirms that the z-shaped *zayin* was in use in Phoenician script as early as the eighth century and that the Kition *zayin* is not an anomaly. (McCarter has rightly pointed out that the Kition bowl and Karatepe inscriptions preserve for us features of the Phoenician cursive script that are lost to us [*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 51, 63; cf. Coote, "The Kition Bowl," 49]. Cf. the discussion of a "lost cursive" in the Methodology chapter).

Furthermore, more recent archaeological analyses of the Kition temple remains might suggest that an eighth-century rather than ninth-century date for the layer in which the Kition bowl was found is preferred (P. M. Bikai, "The Late Phoenician Pottery Complex and Chronology," *BASOR* 229 [1978]: 54-55). If this is so, the palaeographic date and archaeological date for the Kition bowl would correspond.

An updated palaeographic analysis of the Kition bowl, based especially on newer photographs produced by West Semitic Research (n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifactor.com](http://www.inscriptifactor.com)) and on the updated dataset of Phoenician inscriptions from this period, is long overdue. See H. D. D. Parker, forthcoming.

closely mirrored that used in the Phoenicia mainland, at least in the early Iron II period.<sup>146</sup>

Additionally, ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions found in the Mediterranean were likely left by travelers coming from the Phoenician mainland. However, by the eighth century and later, Mediterranean Phoenician inscriptions were likely being written by colonial Phoenicians who had been born overseas, and it is only after such colonial communities were established, and scribes were being trained for some time at a distance from the Phoenician homeland, that substantial differences between the colonial scripts and the script of mainland Phoenicia develop.<sup>147</sup>

## The Formal Corpus

### The Honeyman Inscription (Fig. 5)

The Honeyman inscription (*KAI* 30; Gibson III:12) was discovered by A. M. Honeyman in 1939, in the collection of the Cyprus (Archaeological) Museum (#397) in Nicosia, Cyprus.<sup>148</sup> Its original provenance is unknown. It is inscribed on yellowish-brown sandstone, a stone which occurs in the southeast of Cyprus and is not typical of any of the well-known Phoenician sites on the island. It is approximately 40 cm high and from 44 to 47 cm wide.<sup>149</sup> The text is badly weathered, and much of what remains is either difficult or impossible to read. There are at least eight lines of text, though

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<sup>146</sup> Note especially the use of the Phoenician script by the Aramaeans; this is discussed in the following chapter. See also W. F. Albright Jr., "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," *BASOR* 83 (1941): 20; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 50-63, note especially the summary on pages 62-63. Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, especially 2; Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, 41. Cf. B. Zuckerman, "Pots and Alphabets: Refractions of Reflections on Typological Method," *MAARAV* 10 (2003): 97-98, 102; S. Kaufman, "The Pitfalls of Typology: On the Early History of the Alphabet," *HUCA* 57 (1986): 1-14; and the response to Kaufman by J. Naveh, "Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek, and the Script of the Tell Fakhariyah Statue," in *Ancient Israelite Religion* (1987), 101-13 = *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2009), 92-104.

<sup>147</sup> Note, for example, the Punic script which developed out of the parent Phoenician script. On the topic of "local scripts," see especially Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, especially 174-75, 223-25; J. Naveh, *Early History of the Alphabet* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; 1987; repr., 1997), 62. Note also P. C. Schmitz, *The Phoenician Diaspora: Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2012).

<sup>148</sup> A. M. Honeyman, "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum," *Iraq* 6 (1939), 106-8. Albright credits Honeyman's colleague, Mitford, with the discovery ("New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 15).

<sup>149</sup> Honeyman, "The Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum," 106.

the beginning and right edge of the inscription are missing, as well as possibly a few letters on the left.

Despite its state of decay, Honeyman identified the inscription as a grave stone, as it seems to bear a warning against tampering with a tomb.<sup>150</sup> W. F. Albright aided Honeyman<sup>151</sup> in his initial reading of the text, and he identified its script as Phoenician. He dated it palaeographically to the first half of the ninth century BCE,<sup>152</sup> a date with which I concur. Subsequent studies have followed their work closely. A history of scholarship and bibliography for the piece can be found in Gibson.<sup>153</sup> Good photographs can be found on InscriptiFact.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 107. The inscribed block seems very likely to have been a gravestone despite the lack of the expected identification of the deceased at the beginning of the text. The beginning has been lost as a result of the cutting away of the first line or lines by masons preparing the stone for a secondary use.

<sup>151</sup> Honeyman, "Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum," 104-8; Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 14-22.

<sup>152</sup> Albright, personal communication, in Honeyman, "Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum," 108; Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 16-17. The following likewise date the Honeyman inscription to the first half of the ninth century: A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une inscription phénicienne archaïque de Chypre," *Syria* 26 (1949): 153-54; Masson, "Kypriaka," *BCH* 92 (1968): 380; O. Masson and M. Szyner, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre* (Genève: Droz, 1972), 14. J. Friedrich dates the text to the beginning of the ninth century (*Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [1<sup>st</sup> ed; Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1951], Schrifttafeln I; *Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed; Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1970], Schrifttafeln I. However, it is dated more broadly to the ninth century in general in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of this text: J. Friedrich and W. Röhl, *Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [3<sup>rd</sup> ed.; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1999], Schrifttafeln I). McCarter dates the Honeyman inscription to the early ninth century (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 42). In 1974, J. Teixidor dates it to the ninth century and then to the first part of the ninth century in 1975 (Review of O. Masson and M. Szyner, *Recherches Sur Les Phéniciens à Chypre*, *AJA* 78 [1974]: 189-90; "Early Phoenician Presence in Cyprus: Analysis of Epigraphic Material" in *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments* [N. Robertson, ed.; Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes, 1975], 121-28).

Gibson dates it to the early or mid-ninth century (III:12). H. Donner and W. Röhl (*KAI* 30), Peckham (*Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 13), and M. G. Amadasi Guzzo (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia. Itinerari* 6 [Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1990], 12) date it to the ninth century.

In 1969, F. M. Cross Jr. dated the Honeyman inscription to the early ninth century ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 (1969): 14-15 = *Leaves*, 95). In subsequent articles in 1972 and in 1984, he dated it to the ninth century and said it was shortly earlier than the Nora stone ("An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *BASOR* 208 [1972]: 13-19 = *Leaves*, 250-53; "Phoenicians in Sardinia: The Epigraphical Evidence," *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology*. Vol. I. [M. S. Balmuth and R. H. Rowland, eds.; Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan, 1984], 54). In 1986, Cross argued for a late ninth-century date for both the Honeyman inscription and the Nora stone; however, it seems that his decision to lower the dates for these inscriptions was not based on palaeographical analysis as much as on his association of the Nora stone with Pygmalion of Tyre (831-785 BCE), whom he believes is mentioned as PMY in the last line of the inscription ("Phoenicians in the West," 117 = *Leaves*, 254). Because, as discussed below, it is not certain whether the reading in the last line of the Nora stone is PMY or PNY, Pygmalion cannot be read there with certainty.

Sass dates the inscription to the second half of the ninth century (or early eighth) (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 84); cf. Rollston, "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions," 57-93.

<sup>153</sup> Gibson III:12. See also Masson, "Kypriaka," 375-409 (the Honeyman inscription is discussed in this article in section V, "La plus ancienne inscription phénicienne de Chypre," pages 379-380, Pl. XXI); B. Zuckerman and P. K. McCarter Jr., forthcoming.

<sup>154</sup> InscriptiFact, n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com). Images produced by B. Zuckerman and M. Lundberg in 1997 are available here. In addition, as mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am

Transliteration:<sup>155</sup>

1.       ] ?<sup>156</sup>b<sup>157</sup> | /r<sup>158</sup>y | mpt/l<sup>159</sup> | wh<sup>160</sup>š | 'š'<sup>161</sup>
2.       ] <sup>162</sup>b<sup>163</sup>n<sup>164</sup> | lqbr | z' | k<sup>165</sup>l | hgbr | z' <sup>166</sup>
3.       ] <sup>167</sup>šy | wy'bd | h [   ] m/b | s/'l<sup>168</sup>yt | h'

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partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study available on InscriptiFact. Note also the photographs produced by Masson and Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, 13-20; Pls. II, III.

<sup>155</sup> For the transliteration of this inscription, full scholarly references will be listed once below. Thereafter scholars will be listed by name only.

<sup>156</sup> Others read “w” (Albright, “New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization,” 14-22; *KAI* 30) or “š” (Dupont-Sommer, “Une Inscription Phénicienne Archaique De Chypre,” 153-54).

<sup>157</sup> Others read “h” (Albright; Dupont-Sommer; Honeyman, “Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum,” 104-8; *KAI* 30; Masson and Sznycer, *Recherches Sur Les Phéniciens à Chypre*, 13-20; H. P. Müller, “Die Phönizische Grabinschrift aus dem Zypern-Museum *KAI* 30 und Die Formgeschichte Des Nordwestsemitischen Epitaphs,” *ZA* 65 [1975]: 104-32; Gibson III:12).

<sup>158</sup> Others read a word divider (Honeyman, Albright, Dupont-Sommer, *KAI*, Masson and Sznycer, Müller, Gibson).

<sup>159</sup> Most read “t” (Honeyman, Albright, Dupont-Sommer, *KAI*, Masson and Sznycer, Müller, Gibson); “l” is also a possibility.

<sup>160</sup> Others read “r” (Honeyman, Albright, Dupont-Sommer, *KAI*, Müller) or “h” (Masson and Sznycer, Gibson).

<sup>161</sup> No one previously has raised the possibility of an ‘alep for this letter.

<sup>162</sup> Albright and Dupont-Sommer draw a word divider here, but it is not in their transliterations. Masson and Sznycer read a word divider.

<sup>163</sup> Honeyman, Masson and Sznycer, and Gibson do not read this letter. *KAI* has nothing in its transliteration but has “b” in its drawing. Dupont-Sommer has nothing certain in his transliteration but has “b” in his drawing.

<sup>164</sup> Others read “m” (Honeyman, Dupont-Sommer, Masson and Sznycer, Müller, Gibson). Dupont-Sommer and *KAI* have “m” in their transliterations but “n” in their drawings.

<sup>165</sup> Honeyman reads “š”.

<sup>166</sup> Others read a word divider at the end of this line (Honeyman, Masson and Sznycer, Müller, Gibson).

<sup>167</sup> Honeyman reads “n” here.

<sup>168</sup> There is a deep gouge here, and a significant portion of the surface area is missing. Most of the readings for this area are either reconstructions or, at best, extrapolations from small traces at the edges of the gouge. In this space between the letters “h” and “'yt”:

Honeyman reads “m' |”.

Albright, Dupont-Sommer, and *KAI* read “z' |”.

Masson and Sznycer read “| z'”.

Müller reads “| z' |”.

Gibson reads “z'”.

4. ] <sup>169</sup>bn | yd | b' l | wbn | yd | 'dm | wb  
5. ] b<sup>170</sup>r <sup>171</sup>'lm <sup>172</sup> | wy [ ] r [ ] ny | l  
6. ] <sup>173</sup>l' l y t<sup>174</sup> [ ] ' [ ] p | l [ ] š<sup>175</sup>  
7. ] šm<sup>176</sup> [ ] y<sup>177</sup> l n m/n/p l pny |<sup>178</sup>[ ]<sup>179</sup>  
8. ] y [ ] z'

Translation:<sup>180</sup>

1. .... something of note. And the man who .....
2. .... to this grave, then over this man ...
3. .... and destroys ..... this ...
4. ... by the hand of Ba'al or by the hand of a man or b[y]...
5. ... the company of the gods.....

<sup>169</sup> Masson and Sznycer read a word divider here.

<sup>170</sup> Others read *'alep* (Albright, Dupont-Sommer, *KAI*, Masson and Sznycer).

<sup>171</sup> Albright draws a word divider here, but it is not in his transliteration. Masson and Sznycer, Müller, and *KAI* 30 (2002, page 8) also read a word divider here.

<sup>172</sup> In this line after “ ’lm ”:

Honeyman reads “[ ] | [ ] ‘ny | l’.

Albright and *KAI* 30 ([1962], page 7) read “[ ] | [p?] ‘my | I’”.

*KAI* 30 ([2002], 8) reads “| [ ] | l-y | l”.

Dupont-Sommer reads “[ ]|[w] ‘my | I’.

Masson and Sznycer and Müller read "[ ] | l- -y | l'".

Gibson reads “[ ] | l[ ]y | l”.

<sup>173</sup> Albright and Müller do not read past line five. Others read only some of the letters in lines six-eight. These are mentioned in the notes below.

<sup>174</sup> In this area Masson and Sznycer and Gibson and *KAI* (2002) read “| ’yt |”. They do not read anything else in this line except the “s” at the end.

<sup>175</sup> In line six Honeyman, Dupont-Sommer, and *KAI* (1962) read only the “s”.

<sup>176</sup> In this line *KAI* 30 (2002) reads only five letters, while Masson and Szyner and Gibson read five letters and a word divider. (See the following notes with regard to the letters they read.) Here they read “šm”.

<sup>177</sup> Masson and Sznycer, Gibson, and *KAI* (2002) read this “v”.

<sup>178</sup> Masson and Sznycer and Gibson read this “ny |”. *KAI* (2002) reads “ny” but not a word divider after.

<sup>179</sup> Honeyman, Dupont-Sommer, and *KAI* (1962) read “| lyn” in the latter half of the line. No one offers a transliteration or drawing past line seven.

<sup>180</sup> This translation is based on that of Gibson (III:12). Alternate, though similar, translations can be found in his bibliography.

6-8. (Not translatable).

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:

The following characteristics of the Honeyman inscription script suggest a palaeographic date in the first half of the ninth century BCE. The script retains many of the principal letter forms of the tenth-century script sequence from the Phoenician homeland, which are especially preserved in the royal Byblian inscriptions. Nevertheless, a number of its letter forms exhibit innovations that are significant for the evolution of the Phoenician script in the ninth century. First, there is a general tendency in the Honeyman inscription for letter forms to rotate in a counterclockwise direction—a shift that persists in the eighth—early seventh-century Phoenician inscriptions. Letters that exhibit this tendency, include *'alep*, *bet*,<sup>181</sup> *dalet*,<sup>182</sup> *he*,<sup>183</sup> *zayin*, *yod*,<sup>184</sup> *mem*, *qop*, and *resh*.<sup>185</sup> Second, the particular forms of *dalet*, *he*, *waw*, *mem*, and *taw* in this inscription show significant typological development. Moreover, the Honeyman script also differs in significant ways from the script of the later ninth—eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions, this is especially showcased by many of the aforementioned letters and also by the letter *'alep*.<sup>186</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> There are both upright and rotated forms in this inscription. The stance of the letter is in transition. Amadasi Guzzo does not include counterclockwise-rotated examples in her script chart (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 72).

<sup>182</sup> There are both upright and rotated forms in this inscription. The stance of the letter is in transition.

<sup>183</sup> *He* exhibits slight counterclockwise rotation in both the Honeyman inscription and Nora stone. In the tenth century, in the 'Ahiram sarcophagus, *he*'s vertical stroke stands upright, and its three parallel strokes are horizontal. However, in the Yehimilk inscription and in the 'Abda sherd, though *he*'s vertical stroke stands upright, its three parallel strokes angle down to the left somewhat and might anticipate the eventual counterclockwise rotation of the letter. In the eighth century, this counterclockwise rotation persists (Ba'al Lebanon bowl, Karatepe inscriptions).

<sup>184</sup> There are both upright and rotated forms in this inscription. The stance of the letter is in transition. Briquel-Chatonnet does not include the counterclockwise examples of *yod* in his Honeyman script chart ("Étude comparée, 18).

<sup>185</sup> There are both upright and rotated forms in this inscription. The stance of the letter is in transition. Briquel-Chatonnet does not include forms of *resh* with counterclockwise rotation in his Honeyman script chart ("Étude comparée de l'évolution des alphabets judéen, israélite et phénicien," *LOAPL* 4 [1993]: 28).

<sup>186</sup> *Kap*, though an important letter for palaeographic analysis in this period (see the discussions below of *kap* in the Nora stone and Kilamuwa stele), is not useful for an analysis of the Honeyman inscription. Though this letter might occur as the eleventh letter in line two of the text, it is not certain. Contra Briquel-Chatonnet, there are no clear examples of *kap* in the Honeyman inscription ("Étude comparée," 19).

Throughout the tenth-early seventh centuries, the head of Phoenician *'alep* is formed by two oblique lines that meet in a v-shaped nose on the left side.<sup>187</sup> This head is touched or pierced by a vertical shaft. In the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, **this vertical shaft is the same length both above and below its head, and this is the length of *'alep*'s shaft in the Honeyman Inscription.** In the latter half of the ninth century, as will be discussed below, *'alep*'s vertical shaft elongates downward, stretching further below its bottom oblique line than above its top.

***Dalet* has a short stem.**<sup>188</sup> In the tenth-century formal Byblian inscriptions, *dalet* has no stem; it is roughly the shape of an equilateral triangle. The first example of the development of a stem on Phoenician *dalet* is found in the late tenth-century—early ninth-century cursive 'Abda sherd. By the eighth century, the stem of *dalet* has grown quite long, making the letter as tall as most other letters and less distinguishable from *resh* (discussed below).

In the tenth-century, Phoenician *he* is made up of an oblique spine on the right, which extends above and below three shorter, parallel bars on the left. These three parallel bars are of roughly equal length and are either horizontal ('Ahiram sarcophagus) or angled down to the left (Yehimilk inscription, 'Abda sherd), likely in anticipation of *he*'s eventual counterclockwise rotation. **In the Honeyman inscription, *he*'s vertical spine never extends above its top parallel bar, though it consistently descends below its bottom one.** As will be seen, in the second half of the ninth century and into the eighth, the spine of Phoenician *he* continues to elongate.

The *waw* of the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions stands upright and has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head. It resembles a goblet or a bowl sitting atop a vertical stem. However, by the late tenth-early ninth centuries, as seen in some of the examples in the Shipitba'al inscription (the *waw* in line

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<sup>187</sup> S. Ahituv, E. Eshel, and Z. Meshel say that *'alep* in line five of the Honeyman inscription has "a rounded head" ("The Inscriptions," in *Kuntillet 'Ajrud [Horvat Teman]: An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* [Z. Meshel, ed.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012], 77). This is not the case.

<sup>188</sup> This stem was not represented by either W. Röllig ("L'alphabet," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche* [New York: Brill, 1995]: 205) or A. Millard ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet and Its Passage to the Greeks," *Kadmos* 15 [1976]: 131) in their script charts of the Honeyman inscription, though it appears in the earliest drawing of the inscription made by Albright ("New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 15).



four and the second *waw* in line five), *waw* has begun to lean slightly clockwise, and its head has begun to break down, resembling an upside-down h.<sup>189</sup> **Examples of *waw* in the ninth-century Honeyman inscription have this upside-down-h form<sup>190</sup> and tend toward clockwise rotation.**

In the tenth-century, Phoenician *mem* has a five-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom stroke has just begun to lengthen, most notably in the Shipitba'al inscription. It stands upright, except for one example in the Shipitba'al inscription that exhibits slight counterclockwise rotation (*mem* in line one).<sup>191</sup> **The examples of *mem* in the Honeyman inscription<sup>192</sup> are somewhat abraded; however, they seem to resemble *mem* in the Nora stone and Bosa fragment. In those inscriptions *mem* maintains the five-stroke, zigzag shape of the tenth century, and its bottom stroke is longer than its other four strokes. It exhibits clear counterclockwise rotation.** In the second half of the ninth-early seventh centuries, in Phoenician inscriptions, *mem* continues to rotate counterclockwise, and its bottom stroke elongates further (see below).

*Taw* may be either x- or +-shaped in the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions. Its ideal form is symmetrical, having two strokes of equal length. However, there is at least one example of a +-shaped *taw* in the Shipitba'al inscription, whose vertical stroke is elongated at the bottom (the third

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<sup>189</sup> The Shipitba'al inscription captures the period of *waw*'s transition, as it exhibits both the earlier upright, cup-shaped form (the first *waw* in line five) and the evolving rotated, "upside-down h" form. Cf. the discussion of dual letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>190</sup> In his dissertation, McCarter states that the Honeyman inscription has both the cup-shaped and the upside-down h-shaped forms of *waw* (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 54, 130-31; see also his script chart in P. K. McCarter Jr., "Paleographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedary" in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context* [R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 55). Cf. P. Dion, "The Tel Dan Stele and Its Historical Significance," in *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch, eds.; Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999), 147 n.7; G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*. JSOTSup 360 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 107; Friedrich's script chart of the Honeyman inscription, *Phonizisch-punische Grammatik*, (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> eds.), Schrifttafeln I; Amadasi Guzzo's script chart of Honeyman (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12). However, after McCarter's most recent collation of this inscription, he says that all *waws* have the "upside-down h" form (personal communication); I concur. See the fuller discussion of *waw* below.

<sup>191</sup> Cf. the discussion of dual letter forms in the Methodology Chapter.

<sup>192</sup> Albright argued that the most important letter form for dating the Honeyman inscription was *mem* (personal communication in Honeyman, "Phoenician Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum," 108; cf. Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 17).

*taw* in line four).<sup>193</sup> Both x- and +-shapes continue to be acceptable forms of *taw* in Phoenician inscriptions in the ninth century, and the distinguishing feature of *taw*'s development in this period is downward elongation of either its right or vertical stroke. **The Honeyman inscription has both x- and +-taws, and both types exhibit downward elongation of one of their strokes.**<sup>194</sup> As seen below (Kilamuwa stele), in the second half of the ninth century, one of *taw*'s strokes becomes quite elongated, forming a considerable tail.

### The Nora Stone (Fig. 6)

The Nora stone (*KAI* 46; Gibson III:11) was discovered in Sardinia in 1773, by Father H. Hintz from the University of Cagliari. It was found in secondary use as part of a wall of the vineyard of the Order of Merce of Cagliari near Pula and the ancient site of Nora. In 1830, it was taken to the Cagliari Archaeological Museum (#5998), where it now resides. It is inscribed on yellowish-brown local sandstone and is approximately 1.05 m high and 57 cm wide.<sup>195</sup> It is not certain if the inscription is complete.<sup>196</sup> At least one line, if not more, might be missing from the beginning.<sup>197</sup> Eight lines remain.

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<sup>193</sup> Cf. the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology Chapter.

<sup>194</sup> Contra McCarter, who describes the Honeyman *taw* as x-shaped and "composed of two, short, equal strokes" (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 62).

<sup>195</sup> Gibson III:25; M. Delcor, "Réflexions sur l'inscription phénicienne de Nora en Sardaigne," *Syria* 45 (1968): 324-25; Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 16.

<sup>196</sup> The following treat the inscription as complete, A. Dupont-Sommer, "Nouvelle lecture d'une inscription phénicienne archaïque de Nora, en Sardaigne (*CIS*, I, 144)," *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* 92.1 (1948), 12-22; J. G. Février, "L'inscription archaïque de Nora," *RA* 44 (1950), 123-26; A. van den Branden, "L'inscription phénicienne de Nora (*CIS* I, 144)," *Al Machriq* 56 (1962): 283-92; J. Ferron, "La pierre inscrite de Nora," *RSO* 41 (1966): 282-88; M. G. Amadasi, *Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente*. Studi semitici 28. (Roma: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, Università, 1967), 83-87, Pl. 27; *KAI* 46; F. Pili, "Svelato il mistero sull'iscrizione fenicia di Nora?" *Frontiera* III (1970): 269-70; J. B. Peckham, "The Nora Inscription," *Orientalia* 41 (1972), 457-68; A. J. Frendo, "The Particles Beth and Waw and the Periodic Structure of the Nora Stone Inscription," *PEQ* 128 (1996): 8-11.

<sup>197</sup> The following hold this view, Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 18-19; idem, "The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1962), 328-62; Cross, "Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 14 = *Leaves*, 250; idem, "Phoenicians in Sardinia," 54; idem, "Phoenicians in the West," 118 = *Leaves*, 256; G. Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée: essai d'interprétation fondé sur une analyse des traditions littéraires* (Rome: Institut historique belge de Rome, 1979), 31;

The precise genre of the inscription is not clear. Earliest translations favored a tomb inscription or some sort of stele in honor of an important figure.<sup>198</sup> Albright,<sup>199</sup> followed by A. Mentz,<sup>200</sup> viewed the inscription as a decree. Most think it records either the dedication of a cultic structure<sup>201</sup> or the (likely military<sup>202</sup>) activity<sup>203</sup> of a Phoenician official. A history of scholarship and bibliography for the inscription can be found in M. Delcor,<sup>204</sup> J. B. Peckham,<sup>205</sup> Gibson,<sup>206</sup> and P. C. Schmitz.<sup>207</sup> Good photographs are available in Delcor<sup>208</sup> and especially on InscriptiFact.<sup>209</sup>

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B. Zuckerman, "The Nora Puzzle," *MAARAV* 7 (1991): 269-301.; W. H. Shea, "The Dedication on the Nora Stone," *VT* 41 (1991): 241-45.

<sup>198</sup> G. Arri, *Lapide fenicia di Nora in Sardegna dichiarata* (Stamperia Reale, 1835), t. XXXVII, page 59ff; W. Gesenius, *Scripturae linguaeque phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt edita et inedita ad autographorum optimorumque exemplorum fidem edidit additisque de scriptura et lingua phoenicum commentariis illustravit Guil. Gesenius* (Lipsiae: sumptibus typisque F. C. G. Vogelii, 1837), 154; G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), #41, pages 110-11.

<sup>199</sup> Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 14-22.

<sup>200</sup> A. Mentz, *Beiträge zur Deutung der Phönizischen Inschriften*, Vol. XXIX, 2 (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1944), 15-24.

<sup>201</sup> Février, "L'inscription archaïque de Nora," 123-26; van den Branden, "L'inscription phénicienne de Nora," 283-92; *KAI* 46, Ferron, "La pierre inscrite de Nora," 282-88; Dupont-Sommer, "Nouvelle lecture d'une inscription phénicienne archaïque de Nora," 12-22; Delcor, "Réflexions sur l'inscription phénicienne de Nora," 323-52; Gibson III:11, p.28; A. Del Castillo, "Tarsis en la estela de Nora: ¿un topónimo de Occidente?" *Sefarad* 63 (2003): 3-32; E. Lipiński, *Itineraria phoenicia* (Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2004), 234-46.

<sup>202</sup> Peckham, "Nora Inscription," 457-68; Cross, "Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 15 = *Leaves*, 250; idem, "Phoenicians in Sardinia," 56-7, 62; idem, "Phoenicians in the West," 118-20 = *Leaves*, 256; Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, 30-41; Zuckerman, "Nora Puzzle," 269-301; Shea, "Dedication on the Nora Stone," 241-45; N. Pilkington, "A Note on Nora and the Nora Stone," *BASOR* 365 (2012): 45-51; Schmitz, "The Phoenician Stele from Nora (CIS I 144)," in *The Phoenician Diaspora: Epigraphic and Historical Studies*, 15-31.

<sup>203</sup> Lipiński, *Itineraria phoenicia*, 234-46.

<sup>204</sup> Delcor, "Réflexions sur l'inscription phénicienne de Nora," 323-52.

<sup>205</sup> Peckham, "Nora Inscription," 457-68.

<sup>206</sup> Gibson III:11.

<sup>207</sup> Schmitz, "The Phoenician Stele from Nora," 15-31.

<sup>208</sup> Delcor, "Réflexions sur l'inscription phénicienne de Nora," 323-52.

<sup>209</sup> InscriptiFact, n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com). As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study available on InscriptiFact.

The script of the Nora stone was identified as Phoenician in the earliest publications.<sup>210</sup> In 1924, R. Dussaud dated the inscription palaeographically to the end of the ninth century BCE,<sup>211</sup> and was followed by most,<sup>212</sup> though some argued that certain letter forms seemed later.<sup>213</sup> Debates

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<sup>210</sup> See the discussions in Gesenius, *Scripturae linguaeque phoeniciae monumenta*, 54; Delcor, "Réflexions sur l'inscription phénicienne de Nora," 325-26.

<sup>211</sup> R. Dussaud dates the text to the end of the ninth century on comparison with the Kilamuwa stele ("Les inscriptions phéniciennes du tombeau d'Ahiram, roi de Byblos," *Syria* 5 [1924], 147-49).

<sup>212</sup> The following prefer a ninth-century date: Mentz, *Beiträge zur Deutung der phönizischen Inschriften*, 15; Dupont-Sommer, "Nouvelle lecture d'une inscription phénicienne archaïque de Nora," 12-13; Friedrich (*Phönizisch-punische Grammatik*, [1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> eds.], *Schrifttafeln* I); Ferron, "La pierre inscrite de Nora," 283-5; and Delcor, "Réflexions sur l'inscription phénicienne de Nora," 352.

Albright ("New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 20) and Bunnens (*L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, 30-41) prefer a date in the first half of the ninth century. Similarly, Peckham prefers the early ninth century ("Nora Inscription," 467), and Gibson, the early or mid-ninth century (III:11).

Donner and Röllig give a ninth-century date (*KAI* 46), as does Röllig in 1983 ("Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien," *Antidoron: Festschrift für Jürgen Thimme Zum 65 Geburtstag am 26. September 1982* [Karlsruhe: C. F. Müller, 1983], 127). However in 1995, Röllig gives two dates for the Nora stone, the second half of the ninth century and c.900 BCE ("L'alphabet," 198-99, 204).

Schmitz dates the text to c.825 BCE, ("The Phoenician Stele from Nora," 22-26).

H. Bauer dates the text to the end of the ninth century ("*Eine phönikische Inschrift aus dem 13. Jahrh.*," *OLZ* 28 [1925]: 138), and Lipiński, to the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century (*Itineraria phoenicia*, 234-46).

In 1969, Cross dated the Nora stone (along with the Honeyman inscription) to the early ninth century ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 14-15 = *Leaves*, 95). In 1972 ("Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 14 = *Leaves*, 250) and in 1984 ("Phoenicians in Sardinia," 54), Cross dated the Nora stone to the ninth century—slightly later than the Honeyman inscription. Note that in 1976, Cross stated "we have known from the great Nora Stone that a Phoenician army and settlement were in existence in Sardinia in the late ninth century in the reign of Pygmalion" ("Leaves from an Epigraphist's Notebook," *CBQ* 36 [1974]: 492); and in 1986 ("Phoenicians in the West," 117 = *Leaves*, 254) and 1987 ("The Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia: The Fragmentary Stele from Nora," *Working with no Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Th. O. Lambdin* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987], 71 = *Leaves*, 263), he argued for a late ninth-century date for the Nora stone (and the Honeyman inscription). It seems that Cross's decision to lower the dates for these inscriptions was not based on palaeographical analysis as much as on his association of the Nora stone with Pygmalion of Tyre (831-785 BCE), whom he believes is mentioned as PMY in the last line of the inscription. In 1975 McCarter stated that "Palaeographically, a date early in the reign (of Pygmalion) might be preferred" (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 43); currently, he does not read Pygmalion in the Nora stone (personal communication). Because, as discussed below, it is not certain whether the reading in the last line of the Nora stone is PMY or PNY, Pygmalion cannot be read there with certainty. Note also that J. Teixidor points out difficulties with Cross's argument regarding *pmy* and Pygmalion (*Bulletin d'Épigraphie Sémitique* (1964-80). Bibliothèque archéologique et historique 127 [Paris: Geuthner, 1986], 254-55).

Sass dates the Nora stone to the second half of the ninth (or early eighth) (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 84); cf. Rollston, "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions," 57-93. Amadasi dates it to the second half of the ninth-first half of the eighth century (*Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente*, 83; Amadasi Guzzo, *Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 41).

<sup>213</sup> The following have dated the Nora stone to the eighth century BCE. K. Galling, "Der Weg der Phöniker nach Tarsis in literarischer und archäologischer Sicht," *ZDPV* 88 (1972): 149. G. R. Driver states that the Nora stone might belong to the last half of the eighth century (*Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet* [3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed.; Oxford: University Press, 1976], 107). See my response to Driver below (n. 233).

The following have dated the Nora stone to the seventh century BCE: R. Carpenter, "The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet," *AJA* 37 (1933), 15 (cf. idem, "Phoenicians in the West," *AJA* 62 [1958]: 47-8, in which he suggests a date between the sixth and fifth centuries BCE); G. Garbini, "Note di epigrafia punica – II," *RSO* 42 (1967): 3.

Z. S. Harris has suggested a sixth-century date for this inscription, as he believes there might traces of Punic influence in its language (*A Grammar of the Phoenician Language* [New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1936], 157). However, Driver states that "the Punic element in the language is hardly marked enough to justify a date so late" (*Semitic Writing*, 107 n.5).

regarding the date of the inscription were essentially laid to rest, however, after Peckham's article on the Nora stone was published in 1972.<sup>214</sup> Peckham pointed out that the letters of the inscription had been erroneously chalked,<sup>215</sup> some with typologically later forms. The Nora stone script should be dated to the first half of the ninth century BCE.<sup>216</sup> Peckham's article also clarified the identification of several letters, the readings of which were previously uncertain. It is his transliteration of the text that provides the starting point for this study.<sup>217</sup>

#### Transliteration:

1. btršš
2. w<sup>218</sup>gr<sup>219</sup>š h'
3. bšrdn š
4. lm h' šl
5. m šb<sup>220</sup> m
6. lktn b<sup>221</sup>n

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H. S. Schuster states the inscription dates between the ninth and sixth centuries ("Der Relativsatz im Phönizischen und Punischen," in *Studies in Honor of B. Landsberger on His Seventy-Fifth Birthday* [Chicago: University of Chicago, 1965], 440).

<sup>214</sup> Peckham, "Nora Inscription," 457-68. The value of Peckham's reading for early Phoenician palaeography was noted by Cross, "Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 13 = *Leaves*, 250.

<sup>215</sup> Peckham, "Nora Inscription," 458. Cf. the discussion of chalking in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>216</sup> As mentioned above, Dussaud dates the Nora stone to the end of the ninth century on comparison with the Kilamuwa stele ("Les inscriptions phéniciennes du tombeau d'Ahiram," 147-49), which the consensus of scholarship dates, based on its content, to c.825 BCE. Close comparison of the Nora stone and Kilamuwa stelae reveals that the Kilamuwa stele has slightly more developed letter forms than the Nora stone. Therefore, the Nora stone should be dated earlier than this inscription. As the Nora stone's closest parallel is the Honeyman inscription, I prefer a date in the first half of the ninth century for this inscription as well.

<sup>217</sup> Note that Peckham's work relied on his personal collation of the Nora stone on-site in the Cagliari Archaeological Museum and on the photographs he took there ("Nora Inscription," 458 n.6).

<sup>218</sup> Before Peckham's work in 1972, everyone, except Euting (*Punische Steine*. Mémoires de l'académie des sciences de St.-Petersbourg. Series VII. Vol. XVII, no. 3 [St. Pétersbourg: MM. Eggers et cie, 1871], 27) read this letter as a *nun*. However, Peckham pointed out that the letter was "in fact, a fairly archaic *waw*. What obviously distinguishes it from *nun* is the short oblique line running from the top of the shaft up to the right, while *nun* in this inscription has no right shoulder at all" ("Nora Inscription," 458-59). Note that *KAI* 46 (2002, as in 1962) continues to read *nun*.

<sup>219</sup> Amadasi Guzzo reads "r/d" (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 72).

<sup>220</sup> *KAI* 46 (1962, 2002) reads *resh* instead of *bet*.

<sup>221</sup> *KAI* 46 (1962, 2002) reads *resh* instead of *bet*.

7. šbn ngr/d<sup>222</sup>
8. lpm/n<sup>223</sup>y

Translation:<sup>224</sup>

- [He drove him/it]
1. from Tarshish,
  2. and he drove him/it
  3. from Sardinia. S-
  4. afe is he. Sa-
  5. fe is his army. M-
  6. LKTN son of
  7. ŠBN, NGR/D<sup>225</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> This letter is either *resh* or *dalet*. From personal collation, I offer the following remarks. Based on the length of the stem, I am inclined to read this letter as a *resh*, as it is similar to the other candidates for *resh* in this inscription (line one, letter three; line two, letter three; line three, letter three). However, the only certain example of *dalet* in this inscription is damaged, therefore the length of *dalet*'s stem is not clearly known, which gives no basis for comparison and eliminates stem-length as a criterion for identifying this letter in this inscription.

Stance is also not a definitive criterion. The stance of the only certain *dalet* in this inscription is upright, as is the letter in question. However, in addition to two examples of *resh* with clockwise rotation in lines two and three; line one has an upright example of *resh*. It seems the stance of *resh* was in flux at this time. (The Honeyman inscription exhibits both upright and counterclockwise-rotated *reshes*, as well as *dalets*.)

Peckham reads this letter as *dalet*. He says the confusion can be settled by the following: "*dalet* is vertical, and generally shorter than *resh*, while *resh* (lines two and three) tilts back to the right; although the *resh* in line 1 is vertical, it is clearly distinguished from *dalet* by its very large and elongated head" ("Nora Inscription," 458). Just as stance was ruled out above, so too, is Peckham's criterion of head size. Comparison of the heads of *dalet* and *resh* which stand side-by-side in line three does not reveal significant differences in these two letters. Also the heads of all certain *reshes* within the Nora stone (line one, letter three; line two, letter three; line three, letter 3) vary in size and, therefore, head size must be ruled out as a determinative criterion for identifying *resh* in this inscription. Note that there is general inconsistency in letter size throughout this inscription. (Cf. note 225 below, as well as the discussions of acceptable range of variance and of rounded/pointed heads in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>223</sup> This letter is either a *mem* or *nun*. It has been chalked as a *mem*; however, the area just above the first clearly visible strokes of this letter is damaged. The strokes that remain form either a full *nun* or are the bottom strokes of *mem*. Based upon personal collation, I do not think it is possible to determine if this letter is a *mem* or *nun*.

Most read the letter as *mem* and the word of which it is a part as *lpm*y, "to/for/of PMY." Both Zuckerman ("Nora Puzzle," 272-73, 273 n.11, 292-99) and Shea ("Dedication on the Nora Stone," 241-45), however, read this letter as *nun* and the word of which it is a part as *lpny*, "to/for/of PNY."

<sup>224</sup> This translation is based on that of Zuckerman ("Nora Puzzle," 269-301; cf. Shea, "Dedication on the Nora Stone," especially pages 244 and 284 n. 41).

<sup>225</sup> Because Peckham ("Nora Inscription," 459, 465) reads the final letter of this word as *dalet*, he translates it as *nāgîd*, "commander, general" (cf. Hebrew and Aramaic, *ngd*). Cross follows Peckham's reading of *dalet* in his translation ("Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 15 = *Leaves*, 250; idem, "Phoenicians in Sardinia," 56-7; idem, "Phoenicians in the West," 118-20 = *Leaves*, 256). Bunnens does not follow Peckham. He reads this letter as *resh* and translates the word like Akkadian and Ugaritic *nāgîru*, "herald, official" (*L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, 238-41). Röllig also reads *resh*, as seen in his script chart ("Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien," 128; cf. *KAI* 46). G. W. Ahlstrom prefers the reading *dalet* and the translation *nāgîd*, but says that the letter might also be *resh* and that a translation based on Akkadian and Ugaritic *nāgîru*, "herald, official" is also acceptable ("The Nora Inscription and Tarshish," *MAARAV* 7 [1991]: 42-3). As *nāgîru* is an East Semitic Akkadian loanword in Ugaritic, it is less relevant for

8. of PM/NY.<sup>226</sup>

Significant Palaeographic Features:

The following characteristics of the Nora stone script suggest a palaeographic date in the first half of the ninth century BCE. The Nora script most closely resembles that of the Honeyman inscription. Like the Honeyman script, its letter forms both preserve palaeographic characteristics of the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions and show palaeographic innovations. The Nora script shares with the Honeyman an overall tendency for letter forms to rotate counterclockwise, a change from the upright tenth-century stance. This is seen most clearly in the forms of *'alep*, *he*, *kap*, *mem*, and *šade*.<sup>227</sup> Additionally the forms of *he*, *waw*, *kap*, *lamed*, *mem*, and *taw* in the Nora stone have developed beyond their tenth-century Byblian counterparts.<sup>228</sup> Still, the Nora stone script also differs in significant ways from the script of the later ninth—eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions, and this is especially showcased by the letters *'alep* and *šade*.

As in the Honeyman inscription, **the vertical shaft of *'alep* in the Nora stone is the same length both above and below its head**. It does not exhibit the elongation seen in the latter half of the ninth century.

***He* is like that in the Honeyman inscription. Unlike the tenth-century Byblian *hes*, its vertical spine never extends above its top parallel bar, though it consistently descends below its**

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ninth-century Phoenician in the absence of other occurrences of this word with this meaning in West Semitic. The root *ngr* is found in Aramaic with the meaning “carpenter” not official.

<sup>226</sup> See note 223.

<sup>227</sup> *Gimel* stands more upright in the Nora stone than Briquel-Chatonnet’s script chart indicates (“Étude comparée,” 11).

<sup>228</sup> *Dalet*, though an important letter for palaeographic analysis in this period (see the discussion of *dalet* in the Honeyman inscription), is not useful for an analysis of the Nora stone, as the presence and/or length of a stem cannot be determined with certainty. This uncertainty arises because the stone is damaged below the one certain example of this letter in the text (line 3).

In his drawing of the Nora stone, Rollston draws the *shin* in line 7, as if its symmetrical w-shape has broken down somewhat on the left side (*Writing and Literacy*, 77). Based on on-site collation, I do not believe this is the case.

**bottom one. Moreover, its spine is shorter than that of the *hes* found in inscriptions dating to the second half of the ninth century and later.**<sup>229</sup>

***Waw* has a close affinity with the tenth-century Byblian *waw*. It maintains more of a cup-shaped head and has not broken down into the counterclockwise-rotated, upside-down-h form found in the Honeyman inscription. Its head does, however, incline in a clockwise direction, a ninth-century innovation.**<sup>230</sup>

There is one example of ***kap*** in the Nora stone. It is not the upright, tailless, trident-shaped *kap* of the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions. **Its head has tilted in a counterclockwise direction and has become smaller, as it has developed a tail. Its left prong lies completely horizontal. Its middle prong splits equally the distance between the left and right prongs.**<sup>231</sup> **Its right prong has lengthened considerably, forming the aforementioned tail, which slants from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction.**<sup>232</sup> During the second half of the ninth and into the eighth century, *kap* undergoes additional changes.<sup>233</sup> These are discussed in detail below.

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<sup>229</sup> The spine is not nearly as long as Millard ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," 131) or Briquel-Chatonnet ("Étude comparée," 13) draw it in their script charts.

<sup>230</sup> As mentioned above, note that most Phoenician letter forms that rotate in this period do so in a counterclockwise direction; nevertheless, *waw* does so in a clockwise direction.

Briquel-Chatonnet does not include *waw* in his Nora stone script chart ("Étude comparée," 14).

<sup>231</sup> Contra the drawing in Briquel-Chatonnet's script chart ("Étude comparée," 19).

<sup>232</sup> Note that Cross, Bunnens, McCarter, Zuckerman, and Athas describe and/or draw the tail of this *kap* as straight (Cross, "Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 14 = *Leaves*, 251; idem, "Phoenicians in Sardinia," 54; idem, "Phoenicians in the West," 119; Bunnens, *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*, Pl. II; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 131; Zuckerman, "Nora Puzzle," 300; Athas, *Tel Dan Inscription*, 112). Conversely, Röllig, in his Nora stone script chart, draws *kap*'s tail curving upward at the end; he gives no palaeographic discussion of the letter ("Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien," 128; "L'alphabet," 205). However, cf. *KAI* 46—the drawing of the Nora stone in Pl. II of volume III has a *kap* with a straight tail.

At or near the end of the downward stroke of the Nora *kap*'s tail, a line is cut into the stone that curves upward and to the left. This line is a result of secondary surface damage, not part of the inscription, but its position creates the impression that the tail of *kap* curls upward. The issue is further confused by the presence of the chalk on the inscription. (The inscription has been chalked to reflect a straight tail, and the chalked stroke extends straight down past where the damage line begins to curve upward to the left). I could not definitively resolve this issue when examining the inscription in the museum, but I did observe that the straight downward stroke is deeper than the curved line, and seems to be more like the depth of the rest of the letter form, and, therefore, likely the true tail. The conclusive information is provided by the photographs produced for this study, as they reveal that the curved line cuts across the tail of the *kap*, and is not part of it.

<sup>233</sup> First, its tail continues to lengthen (Kilamuwa stele); second, its head begins to break down in a variety of ways. Driver sees one of these developed forms of *kap* in the Nora stone. He argues that the Nora stone might belong to the last half of the eighth century and that a ninth-century date for this inscription seems too early, as the *kap* is "of a form not otherwise known before the Cypriot bowl (c. 700 BCE)," (*Semitic Writing*, 107). However, both on-site collation and the



***Lamed* is hook-shaped and this hook may be curved or sharply angled.**<sup>234</sup> The upper part of the letter is longer than the lower. In the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from the tenth-early seventh centuries, all letters essentially hang from a scribal ceiling line in a relatively side-by-side position. The one exception to this is *lamed*, which **begins to move upward during the ninth century, with the result that its top stroke penetrates this ceiling line**, as seen in the Phoenician Nora stone. This penetration persists in the eighth-early seventh centuries, though it is still not seen in all inscriptions.

***Mem* is like that in the Honeyman inscription. It has a five-stroke, zigzag form and exhibits counterclockwise rotation and elongation of the bottom stroke.** The *mem* in line four of the Nora stone has been most affected by erroneous chalking, and this letter was a major reason for early discrepancies in dating this inscription. Peckham noted that this *mem* “appears ‘abnormal’ in all the published photographs, but in fact is typologically identical with the other *mems* of the inscription.”<sup>235</sup> Indeed, after collating this inscription in the Cagliari Archaeological Museum, I concur with Peckham’s analysis, and the new photographs that I have produced for this study also support his conclusions.<sup>236</sup>

***Ṣade* is composed of a z-shape that is attached by its top stroke to a vertical shaft on the left.** During the tenth-first half of the ninth centuries (Byblian Yehimilk and ‘Abiba‘al inscriptions), as seen in the Nora stone, **this vertical shaft extends above<sup>237</sup> the top stroke of the “z,” but not**

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new images that I have produced of this inscription make clear that the Nora stone *kap* has a typical ninth-century form. Its head has not begun to break down.

<sup>234</sup> Briquel-Chatonnet does not include round examples of *lamed* in his Nora stone script chart (“Étude comparée,” 20).

<sup>235</sup> Peckham, “The Nora Inscription,” 458.

<sup>236</sup> Röllig still has the incorrect form of *mem* in his Nora stone script chart (“Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien,” 128). Cf. Briquel-Chatonnet (“Étude comparée,” 21).

<sup>237</sup> Amadasi Guzzo does not include this upward penetration in her script chart (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 29).

**below its bottom stroke.**<sup>238</sup> In the latter half of the ninth century, however, *ṣade*'s vertical shaft lengthens downward (see Kilamuwa stele below).

**There are two examples of *taw* in the Nora stone. They are both x-shaped. One example has two strokes of equal length, while the other example's right stroke is lengthened slightly,**<sup>239</sup> just as the Honeyman *taw*.

### **The Bosa Fragment (Fig. 7)**

The Bosa fragment (*CIS* I, 162) was discovered in northwestern Sardinia in the area of Bosa.<sup>240</sup> It now resides in the Cagliari Archaeological Museum.<sup>241</sup> Made of stone, it measures approximately 15 cm high and 28 cm wide, and its letters are roughly the same size as those found within the Nora stone.<sup>242</sup>

No definitive interpretation of the text is possible, as the fragment bears only four letters. Nevertheless, the large size of the letters might indicate that it was once part of a monumental inscription.<sup>243</sup> The fragment, along with an image of its squeeze is published in *CIS* I.<sup>244</sup> Because its Phoenician script is comparable to that of both the Honeyman inscription and the Nora stone, the fragment should be dated palaeographically to the first half of the ninth century BCE.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> The vertical shaft is not as long as Briquel-Chatonnet draws it in his Nora script chart ("Étude comparée, 26).

<sup>239</sup> Contra McCarter, who does not note this lengthening (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 62). Cf. the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>240</sup> Euting reports that the Bosa fragment was privately owned by Dr. Ferralis (*Punische Steine*, 31).

<sup>241</sup> When collating inscriptions for this project in the summer of 2011, I was not able to see this piece. Its precise whereabouts in the museum's holdings was not known.

<sup>242</sup> Euting, *Punische Steine*, 31; Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 20.

<sup>243</sup> Cross, "Phoenicians in the West," 120 = *Leaves*, 256; idem, "Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia," 71 = *Leaves*, 263. Albright suggests that the Bosa fragment might have been part of a decree like that of the Nora stone ("New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 20).

<sup>244</sup> *CIS* I, 162. As mentioned above (see note 104), I have not yet been able to collate personally this inscription; nevertheless, the image of the squeeze appears to provide a good likeness and to be adequate for palaeographic analysis.

<sup>245</sup> McCarter notes that the Bosa fragment might be almost as ancient as the Nora fragment, which he says "requires a date no later than c. 1050 B.C.;" however, he does not give a definitive date, as he says no photograph was available for palaeographic study (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 43-44). Albright says the inscription fits within the

Transliteration:

b/r<sup>246</sup> m<sup>247</sup> , n

Significant Palaeographic Features:

Though portions of only four letters of the inscription remain, there is still enough information to make a brief palaeographic analysis of the fragment. The Bosa fragment script most probably dates to the first half of the ninth century BCE. When compared with both the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions and the Phoenician inscriptions from the second half of the ninth-eighth centuries, the Bosa fragment, like the Honeyman inscription and Nora stone, exhibits these distinguishing characteristics: (1) *'alep* and *mem* are rotated slightly counterclockwise,<sup>248</sup> (2) *'alep*'s vertical shaft is the same length both above and below its head—it has not begun to elongate downward, and (3) *mem*'s bottom stroke is clearly elongated.

### The Kilamuwa Stele (Fig. 8)

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Phoenician script sequence of the late tenth-early ninth centuries. He prefers a date in the first half of the ninth century ("New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 20). In 1983, Röllig dated the Bosa fragment to the ninth century ("Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien," 128). He narrows that date to the second half of the ninth century in 1995 ("L'alphabet," 198-99). Cross dates the Bosa fragment to the second half of the ninth century, roughly contemporary with the Nora stone ("Phoenicians in the West," 120 = *Leaves*, 256; idem, "Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia," 71 = *Leaves*, 263). Sass dates it to the second half of the ninth century (or early eighth) (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 84); cf. Rollston, "Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions," 57-93. Driver says it might belong to the last half of the eighth century (*Semitic Writing*, 107). For the Nora fragment see *CIS* I, 145; Cross, "Leaves from an Epigraphist's Notebook," 490-93; idem, "Phoenician's in the West," 60-65; idem, "Phoenicians in Sardinia," 60-65; idem, "Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia," 65-74 = *Leaves*, 260-64; cf. Röllig, "Paläographische Beobachtungen Zum Ersten Auftreten Der Phönizier in Sardinien," 125-30; E. Lipiński, "The Nora Fragment," in *MedAnt* II (1999): 667-71; idem, "Epigraphy in Crisis," *BAR* 16 (1990): 42-43, 49, 57; Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 83 n.131; M. G. Amadasi Guzzo, "Les inscriptions," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique, manuel de recherche*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, erste Abteilung: Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten 20 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23-24.

<sup>246</sup> The first letter is either *bet* or *resh*. Its bottom has been broken off, and it is unclear whether the letter had a foot or not. The length of the spine makes *dalet* a less-likely candidate. Cross reads this letter as *resh*, and describes it as "large-headed" ("Phoenicians in the West," 120 = *Leaves*, 256). As discussed below, the size of *resh*'s head is not typologically significant in this period.

<sup>247</sup> Earlier treatments of this text mistakenly read this letter as *samek* (cf. Euting, *Punische Steine*, 31; *CIS* I, 162).

<sup>248</sup> As is the letter that is either *bet* or *resh*.

The Kilamuwa stele (*KAI* 24; Gibson III:13) was discovered in 1902, during the German excavations of Zincirli led by F. von Luschan. Found at the entrance to the vestibule of Palace J,<sup>249</sup> it measures 1.30 x 1.54 m. It now resides in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (S 6579).

The stele bears a sixteen-line inscription, complete and in excellent condition, with few damaged letters.<sup>250</sup> The text is divided by register lines and separated into two parts by a double line after line eight. It is a royal memorial stele, commemorating the internal and external affairs of King Kilamuwa of Sam'al.<sup>251</sup> This content, wherein Kilamuwa lists the kings that reigned before him, provides the date of the inscription, as Kilamuwa's father, Ḫayya', is known from the records of the Neo-Assyrian king Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE). Scholars speculate that the Kilamuwa stele might date to the end of Shalmaneser's reign, c.830-824 BCE, as Assyria appears somewhat weak within the textual description.<sup>252</sup> The stele's text is accompanied by a carving of Kilamuwa pointing to various divine symbols<sup>253</sup> with his right hand and holding a lotus flower in his left. Both the carving and the inscription were executed in *bas relief*.<sup>254</sup>

The language of the text is Phoenician,<sup>255</sup> except for the personal names, which are written in Aramaic.<sup>256</sup> Its script is Phoenician and dates to the second half of the ninth century BCE.<sup>257</sup> Von

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<sup>249</sup> F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli IV* (Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911), 374-77, Pl. LII.

<sup>250</sup> Gibson III:13.

<sup>251</sup> K. L. Younger, "The Kulamuwa Inscription (2.30)," in *COS* 2, 147-48. For the memorial genre, see M. Miller, "The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stela," *PEQ* 106 (1974): 9-18. See also M. O'Connor, "The Rhetoric of the Kilamuwa stele," *BASOR* 226 (1977): 15-30. T. Collins describes the Kilamuwa stele as "Phoenician poetry" ("The Kilamuwa stele — a Phoenician Poem," *WO [Die Welt des Orients]* 6 [1970]: 183-88).

<sup>252</sup> Gibson III:13. Of course, it is simply possible that King Kilamuwa wishes to exaggerate his status vis-à-vis the Assyrian empire.

<sup>253</sup> Y. Yadin, "Symbols of Deities at Sam'al (Zincirli), Carthage and Hazor," *Yediot* 31 (1967): 29-63 (in Hebrew); idem, "Symbols of Deities at Zincirli, Carthage and Hazor," *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1970), 199-231; J. Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli: Neue Edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, sam'alischen und aramäischen Textkorpus* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1993), 29.

<sup>254</sup> While Semitic texts are typically incised, it appears that this inscription was influenced by local Luwian writing practices; Luwian Hieroglyphic inscriptions were carved in *bas relief*.

<sup>255</sup> The following classify the language of the Kilamuwa stele as Phoenician. If they have dated the inscription, their date will be listed after their name: C. Brockelmann ("Zu den Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 8 [1911]: 1142-46); J. Halévy, first half of the eighth

century BCE (“L’inscription du roi Kalumu,” *Journal asiatique* 10.19 [1912]: 408-10); M. Lidzbarski (“Eine phönizische Inschrift aus Zendschirli,” in *Ephemeris für semitische epigraphic* III [Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1915], 218-38) H. Bauer, end of the ninth century (“Die כלמו–Inschrift aus Sendschirli,” *ZDMG* 67 [1913]: 684-91; “Eine phönizische Inschrift aus dem 13. Jahrh.,” *OLZ* 28 [1925]: 138); A. Dupont-Sommer, second half of the ninth century (“Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou et le dieu Rekoub=el,” *RHR* 133 [1947]: 19-33); Friedrich, c.850 and c.825 BCE (*Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [1<sup>st</sup> ed.], 153, Schrifttafeln I); c.825 BCE [2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> eds.], Schrifttafeln I); F. M. Cross Jr., and D. N. Freedman, c.825 BCE (*Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence* [New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society 1952], 11-12, 15-20; “The Pronominal Suffixes of the Third Person Singular in Phoenician,” *JNES* 10 [1951]: 228-30 = *Leaves*, 276-77); Donner and Röllig, c.825 BCE (*KAI* 24); J. J. Koopmans, second half of the ninth century BCE (“I Kilamuwa,” in *Aramäische Chrestomathie* [Leiden: Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1962], 9-16, Nr 1); B. L. Haines, c.825 (“A Paleographical Study of Aramaic Inscriptions Antedating 500 B.C.” [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966], 33-34, Plate I); L. A. Bange, c.825 BCE (“The Early Phoenician Kilamuwa stele from Zenjirli [ca. 825 B.C.],” in *A Study of the Use of Vowel-Letters in Alphabetic Consonantal Writing* [München: UNI-Druck, 1971], 35-41); H. L. Ginsberg (“Ugaritico-Phoenicia,” *JANES* 5 [1973]: 130-47, see especially page 146); A. van den Branden, ninth century (“Quelques notes concernant le vocabulaire phénico-punique,” *RSF* 2 [1974]: 140); Gibson, 880-825 BCE (III:13); S. Segert, c.825 BCE (“Inscription of king Kilamuwa,” in *A Grammar of Phoenician and Punic* [München: C. H. Beck’sche, 1976], 270, ¶83.11); G. Garbini, end of the ninth century (“L’iscrizione fenicia di Kilamuwa e il verb škr in semitico nordoccidentale,” *BeO* 19 [1977]: 113-17); F. M. Fales (“Kilamuwa and the Foreign Kings: Propaganda vs. Power,” *WO* 19 [1979]: 6-22); P. Swiggers, c.825 BCE (“Notes on the Phoenician Inscription of Kilamuwa,” *RSO* 55 [1981]: 1-4; “A Reflexive Verbal Pattern in North-Phoenician,” *ZDMG* 13 [1981]: 225-28; “Commentaire philologique sur l’inscription phénicienne du roi Kilamuwa,” *RSO* 11 [1983]: 133-47); T. Ishida, latter half of the ninth century (“Solomon Who Is Greater than David: Solomon’s in 1 Kings I-II in the Light of the Inscription of Kilamuwa, King of Y’DY-ŠAM’AL,” in *Congress Volume. Salamanca 1983*. VTSup 36 [J. A. Emerton, ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1985], 145-52); H.-P. Müller (“Phönizische historische Inschriften,” in *Rechts- und Wirthschaftsurkunden Historisch-chronologische Texte*. TUAT I [O. Kaier, ed.; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1985], 638-68); Cross, c.825 BCE (“Phoenicians in the West,” 117-30 = *Leaves*, 254-59; “Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual Inscription,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphical, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* [Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 393-409 = *Leaves*, 51-60. [Note that there is a typo in the 1995 edition of this article—“c.925” for “c.825”]; “The Stele Dedicated to Melqart by Ben-Hadad of Damascus,” in *Leaves*, 173-77); Naveh, late ninth century (“Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek,” 101-13 = *Studies*, 92-104; idem, *Early History of the Alphabet* [2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1987; repr., 1997], 54, 76, 80, 117); S. D. Sperling (“KAI 24 Re-examined,” *UF* 20 [1988]: 323-37); Z. Zevit, 830-825 BCE (“Phoenician nbš/npš and its Hebrew Semantic Equivalents,” *MAARAV* 5-6 [1990]: 337-44); M. Liverani, “Kilamuwa 7-8 E II RE 7,” *Storia e tradizioni di Israele: scritti in onore J. Alberto Soggin* [D. Garrone and F. Israel, eds.; Brescia: Paideia, 1991], 177-83; I. Young (“KLMW BR TML,” *Syria* 70 [1993]: 95-98); Tropper, c.825 BCE (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 27, 283-87; “Sie knurrten wie Hunde. Psalm 59, 16, Kilamuwa: 10 und die Semantik der Wurzel ln,” *ZAW* [1994]: 87-85); S. Parker, c.825 (*Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions: Comparative Studies on Narratives in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible* [New York: Oxford University, 1997], 79); Lipiński, c.825 BCE (“Phoenician in Anatolia,” 115); J.-W. Wesselius, c.825 BCE (“Language Play in the Old Testament and in Ancient North-West Semitic Inscriptions: Some Notes on the Kilamuwa Inscription,” in *The Old Testament in Its World: Papers Read at the Winter Meeting, January 2003, the Society for Old Testament Study* [R. P. Gordan and J. C. de Moor, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2005], 253-65); A. F. Rainey and R. S. Notley, ninth century (*The Sacred Bridge: Carta’s Atlas of the Biblical World* [Jerusalem: Carta, 2006], 212); McCarter, c.825 BCE (“Paleographic Notes,” 55-56; personal conclusion); and Rollston, late ninth century (“Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Phoenician Inscriptions,” 88-91; “Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar,” 61-96; *Writing and Literacy*, 40).

J. Hehn says the language of the Kilamuwa stele is Canaanite and dates the text to the ninth century (“Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu,” *BZ* 10 [1912]: 114). E. Littmann says the language of the inscription is either Canaanite or Phoenician. He dates it to the ninth century (“Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu,” in *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2.45 [Berlin: Verlag der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften (George Reimer), 1911]: 976-85). M.-J. Lagrange says the language is Canaanite, more Phoenician than Hebrew. He dates the inscription to the ninth century (“La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirli,” *RB* 9 [1912]: 253-59). W. F. Albright, Jr. says the stele is “standard Canaanite (Phoenician)” and was carved about 830 BCE or a little later (“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I of Damascus to the God Melcarth,” *BASOR* 87 [1942]: 23-29). In his article on narrative poetry in Canaan, J. C. de Moor does not explicitly label the script. He dates the text to the ninth century BCE (“Narrative Poetry in Canaan,” *UF* 20 [1988]: 141-71). Driver says the language of the text is Phoenician, “showing traces of Aramaic influence.” He dates the inscription to 900-800 BCE (*Semitic Writing*, 107). O’Connor says it is written in the dialect of Phoenician spoken in Tyre and Sidon. He dates the text to the ninth century (“The Rhetoric,” 15-29).

J. Montgomery labels the inscription Hebrew and dates it to c.850 BCE (“Two Notes on the Kalamu Inscription,” *JBL* 47 [1928]: 196-97).

Note the way in which the following date the text. They do not expressly discuss the language of the inscription: F. E. Peiser, around the mid-ninth century BCE (“Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli,” *OLZ* 14 [1911]: 542); H. Gressman, c.825 BCE (“Inschrift des Kilamu aus Zendschirli,” in *Altorientalische Texte und zum Alten Testament* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Berlin: de

Luschan first published the stele.<sup>258</sup> For further bibliography see Gibson,<sup>259</sup> J. Tropper,<sup>260</sup> and K. L.

Younger.<sup>261</sup> Good photographs are available on InscriptiFact.<sup>262</sup>

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Gruyter, 1926], 442-43); Collins, late ninth century ("The Kilamuwa stele," 183-88); P. Magnanini, circa the eighth century BCE ("Zincirli," in *Le iscrizioni fenicia dell'oriente* [Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino oriente, Università degli studi di Roma, 1973], 45-47, #1); Amadasi Guzzo, second half of the ninth century (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12); B. Sass, c.830 BCE (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 30ff); and Schmitz, c.825 BCE ("The Phoenician Stele from Nora," 25).

<sup>256</sup> The personal names employ final *matres lectiones*, and the patronymics employ Aramaic *br* for "son." Ginsberg says that Kilamuwa's patronymic, which includes Aramaic *br* for "son" "was regarded as an untranslatable proper name" ("Ugaritico-Phoenicia," *JANES* 5 [1973]:130-47, see especially page 146). Likewise, Naveh states that in the Kilamuwa stele "proper names are written in the Aramaic spelling" (*Early History*, 54) and "there are many other indications that, in a bilingual society, a person's name and his title do not determine the language of the text" (117, and similar examples listed there).

Note especially the discussions in Cross and Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography*, 11-12; Bange, "The Early Phoenician Kilamuwa stele," 35-41; Gibson, III:13. For a discussion of the -muwa ending see J. Friedrich, "Zu den kleinasiatischen Personennamen mit dem Element -muwa," in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1 (1930): 359-78, especially page 363.

<sup>257</sup> The following classify the script of the Kilamuwa stele as Phoenician. If they have dated the inscription, their date will be listed after their name: Halévy, first half of the eighth century BCE ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408-10); Driver, 900-800 BCE (*Semitic Writing*, 107); Naveh, late ninth century (*Early History*, 54, 80); P.-E. Dion, c.800 BCE (*La Langue de Ya'udi: Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zincirli dans le cadre des langues sémitique du nord-ouest* [Waterloo: The Corporation for the Publication of Academic Studies in Religion in Canada, 1974], 44); Tropper, c.825 BCE (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 27, 165); Parker, 825 BCE (*Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions*, 79); Rollston, late ninth century ("Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar," 78; *Writing and Literacy*, 40); and D. Carr, ("The Tel Zayit Abecedar in [Social] Context," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedar in Context* [R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 113-29).

Sass refers to the text as Phoenician-Aramaic and dates it to c.830 BCE (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 30ff).

Gibson states "Kilamuwa emerges as almost the last representative of the undifferentiated script used by all dialects in the earliest period, lacking the individual features both of the Palestinian group, the first to separate itself from the parent stock (cp. *g*, *k*, *ṭ*), and of the later Aram. (cp. *z*, *q*) and Phoen. (cp. *y*, *m*) groups." He says the script fits nicely between the Honeyman and Nora inscriptions and the eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions, and suggests also comparing the roughly contemporary Mesha stele and later Aramaic scripts of Zenjirli (Hadad and Panamuwa inscriptions) (III:13, p.31).

Cross and McCarter classify the script as Aramaic and date it to c.825 BCE. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15-17 = *Leaves*, 96; idem, "The Stele Dedicated to Melqart," in *Leaves*, 173; idem, "Phoenicians in the West," 122 (note 17 on page 126) = *Leaves*, 257-58 n.26; idem, "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual," (1995), 393-409, especially 395, 395 n.8 = *Leaves*, (2003), 51-60, especially 52, 52 n.7 (note that there is a typo in the 1995 edition of this article—"c.925" for "c.825"); McCarter, "Paleographic Notes," 55-56.

Haines says the Kilamuwa script closely approximates the scripts of the oldest Aramaic inscriptions, thus it provides a formal link between Phoenician and Old Aramaic scripts ("Paleographical Study," 33-34, Plate I).

Lagrange compares the Kilamuwa stele script to the script of the Mesha inscription, "le plus ancien type connu de l'écriture sémitique alphabétique." He dates the inscription to the ninth century ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 253-59).

<sup>258</sup> von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* IV, 374-77.

<sup>259</sup> Gibson III:13.

<sup>260</sup> Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 29-30.

<sup>261</sup> Younger, "The Kulamuwa Inscription," 147-48. Note also the recently published article by J.-W. Wesselius, "Language Play in the Old Testament," 253-65. Note also, P. C. Schmitz, "The Phoenician Words *mškb* and '*rr*' in the Royal Inscription of Kulamuwa (KAI 24.14-15) and the Body Language of Peripheral Politics," in *Linguistic Studies in Phoenician: In Memory of J. Brian Peckham* (R. Holmstedt and A. Schade, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2013), 68-83.

## Transliteration:

1. 'nk | klmw | br | hy
2. mlk<sup>263</sup> gbr | 'l | y'dy |<sup>264</sup> wbl | p<sup>265</sup>
3. kn bn<sup>266</sup>h | wbl<sup>267</sup> p'l | wkn |<sup>268</sup> 'b<sup>269</sup> |<sup>270</sup> h<sup>271</sup>y' |<sup>272</sup> wbl | p<sup>273</sup>l |<sup>274</sup> wkn | 'h

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<sup>262</sup> InscriptiFact, n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifactor.com](http://www.inscriptifactor.com). As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study available on InscriptiFact.

<sup>263</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254), Bauer ("Die כלמו," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), A. Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen Sprachgebiets: Kilamû-Inschrift," in *Das appositionell bestimmte pronomen der 1. pers. sing. in den westsemitischen inschriften und im Alten Testament* [Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1932], 33 [33-43]), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 4; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 184), Magnanini ("Zincirli," 45), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), and de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167) read a word divider here. The area is damaged, and I see no trace of a word divider.

<sup>264</sup> De Moor does not read this word divider ("Narrative Poetry," 167). There is certainly one here.

<sup>265</sup> At the end of this line, Bauer reconstructs "'l" and then reads a word divider ("Die כלמו," 690). In his transliteration of the text Swiggers reads "'l" at the end of this line as if these letters are certainly there ("Notes, 2 n.7). Though it is clear from the rest of the inscription that the author of the text intended for "'l" to be written at the end of the line, there was not enough space in that area to include them in the text. I also see no word divider in that area in contrast to Bauer's suggestion.

<sup>266</sup> Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), C. C. Torrey ("The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions," *JAOS* 35 [1915], 365), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 4; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 184), Magnanini ("Zincirli," 45), Gibson (III:13, p.33), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), Ishida ("Solomon Who Is Greater than David, 147), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), and Rainey and Notley (*The Sacred Bridge*, 212) read *mem*. Though Bauer's transliteration of the texts reads *mem*, it seems from his notes that he sees a *nun* on the stele ("Die כלמו," 684, 690). This letter is certainly *nun*. Cf. the personal name "*bmh*" in line sixteen. Either "*bnh*" here or "*bmh*" there seems to be an inscriber's error.

<sup>267</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), and Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254) reconstruct the *lamed*. It is certainly there. Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Bauer ("Die כלמו," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 4; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 184), Magnanini ("Zincirli," 45), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) read a word divider after the *lamed*. I see none.

<sup>268</sup> Halévy does not read the word divider here ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408). It is certainly there.

<sup>269</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), and Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254) reconstruct the *bet*. It is certainly there.

<sup>270</sup> Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408) and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) do not read the word divider here. It is certainly there.

<sup>271</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977) reconstructs the *het*. It is certainly there.

<sup>272</sup> Sperling reads neither the '*alep* nor the word divider here ("KAI 24," 324). They are certainly there.

4. š'l | wbl<sup>275</sup> | p'l | w' <sup>276</sup>n? <sup>277</sup> | kl<sup>278</sup>mw | br | tm<sup>279</sup>l<sup>280</sup> | <sup>281</sup>m's | p'lt

5. bl | <sup>282</sup>p'l | <sup>283</sup>h <sup>284</sup>lpn<sup>285</sup>y<sup>286</sup>hm | kn | bt | <sup>287</sup>'by | bmtkt | mlkm | 'd

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<sup>273</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), and Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254) reconstruct the *pe*. It is certainly there.

<sup>274</sup> Tropper does not read the word divider here (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 32). It is certainly there.

<sup>275</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977) and Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408) reconstruct the *lamed*. It is certainly there.

<sup>276</sup> Peiser reads *kap* ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542). The traces favor an *'alep*, though a *šade* is also possible.

<sup>277</sup> Peiser reads *nun* ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542). Bauer ("Die כלמו," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische, 222), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), Swiggers ("Notes, 2 n.7), and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) read *kap*. Only the tail of this letter remains. It could be a *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *taw*. Context supports the restoration of *kap* in the word *'nk*, 'I."

<sup>278</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), and Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254) reconstruct the *lamed*. It is certainly there.

<sup>279</sup> Lagrange reads nothing in this area ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254). Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), and Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408) reconstruct *mem*. *Mem* is certainly there.

<sup>280</sup> Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254), Bauer ("Die כלמו," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische, 222), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele, 184), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), Sperling ("KAI 24," 324), and Rainey and Notley (*The Sacred Bridge*, 212) read nothing here. Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977) and Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118) reconstruct *taw*. Swiggers reads *'alep* ("Notes, 2 n.7; "Commentaire," 134). I see the traces of a *lamed*. I. Young also suggested reading *lamed* in this area in a 1993 article especially dedicated to the reading of this word ("KLMW BR TML," 95-98).

<sup>281</sup> Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele, 184) and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) do not read the word divider here. It is certainly there.

<sup>282</sup> Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408) and Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele, 184) do not read the word divider here. It is certainly there.

<sup>283</sup> Poebel reads a *waw* instead of a word divider ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33). This is certainly a word divider.

<sup>284</sup> Peiser suggests *het* for *he* ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542).

<sup>285</sup> Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542) and Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118) read *waw*. The right shoulder of this letter is quite high, and the appearance of its head might suggest a *waw* here. However, the tail of this letter suggests a *nun*. For other examples of *nun* with a high right shoulders, see the second and third *nuns* in line ten.

<sup>286</sup> Though Sperling does not read this *yod* in his main transliteration of this inscription, it is clear from the notes in his commentary that he sees the letter there ("KAI 24," 324, 327).

<sup>287</sup> The drawing in von Luschan (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* IV, 375), Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254), Bauer ("Die כלמו," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische, 222), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele, 184), van den Branden (Quelques notes,"



6. rm |<sup>288</sup> w<sup>289</sup>kl | šlh | yd<sup>290</sup> l<sup>291</sup>lh<sup>292</sup>m | wkt | byd |<sup>293</sup> mlk<sup>294</sup>m |<sup>295</sup> km 'š |<sup>296</sup> 'klt

7. zqn<sup>297</sup> | w<sup>298</sup>[ ]<sup>299</sup>š | 'klt | yd |<sup>300</sup> w' dr<sup>301</sup> 'ly mlk | d?<sup>302</sup>nym | wškr |<sup>303</sup>

8. 'nk | 'ly | mlk<sup>304</sup> 'šr |<sup>305</sup> 'lm?<sup>306</sup> |<sup>307</sup> ytn | bš | wg<sup>308</sup>br | bswt |

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140), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), Swiggers ("Notes, 2 n.7; "Commentaire," 134), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), Sperling ("KAI 24," 324), and Tropper (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 35) do not read this word divider. Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977) and Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408) reconstruct a word divider here. There is a word divider here. It is best seen in the new photographs I prepared for this study.

<sup>288</sup> De Moor does not read this word divider ("Narrative Poetry," 167). It is certainly there.

<sup>289</sup> van den Branden does not read the *waw* (Quelques notes," 140). It is certainly there.

<sup>290</sup> De Moor reads a word divider here ("Narrative Poetry," 167). No one else has suggested reading a word divider in this area. After examining the new images that I produced for this study, I believe it is possible that a word divider appears here, though I am not certain.

<sup>291</sup> Peiser changes to *he* ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542). Magnanini inserts *he* between the *lameds* ("Zincirli," 45).

<sup>292</sup> Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542) and Torrey ("The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions," 366) reconstruct *he*. Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977) and Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408) read *he*. Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254), Bauer ("Die כלמ," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 184), Magnanini ("Zincirli," 45), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167) and M. Oeming ("Ich habe einen Greis gegessen," Kannibalismus und Autophagie als Topos der Kriegsnotschilderung in der Kilamuwa-Inschrift, Zeile 5-8, im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament," *BN* 47 [1989]: 90) reconstruct *het*. The 1964 edition of *KAI* 24 (p.5) reconstructs *het*; the 2002 edition (p.5) reads it as a damaged *het*. It is not clear whether Poebel reconstructs *he* or *het* ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33). Sperling reads *dalet* ("KAI 24," 324). Per my on-site collation and the new photographs I produced for this study, *het* is certainly there.

<sup>293</sup> van den Branden does not read this word divider (Quelques notes," 140). It is certainly there.

<sup>294</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), and Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 254) reconstruct the *kap*. It is certainly there.

<sup>295</sup> *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 184), van den Branden (Quelques notes," 140), Gibson (III:13, p.340), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) do not read this word divider. It is there.

<sup>296</sup> Halévy does not read the word divider here ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408). It is certainly there.

<sup>297</sup> Halévy reconstructs the *nun* ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408). It is certainly there.

<sup>298</sup> Poebel reads *yod* ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33). This letter is certainly *waw*.

<sup>299</sup> Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), Oeming ("Ich habe einen Greis gegessen," 90), and Swiggers ("Notes, 2 n.7) read "*km*." This area is damaged. Nothing can be read here.

<sup>300</sup> De Moor does not read this word divider ("Narrative Poetry," 167). It is certainly there.

<sup>301</sup> De Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167) and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) read a word divider here. I do not see one.

<sup>302</sup> Swiggers ("Notes, 2; "Commentaire," 134) and Oeming ("Ich habe einen Greis gegessen," 90) read the *nun* as if it is certain. The tail and some traces of the head of this letter remain. It could be a *kap*, *mem*, or *nun*.

<sup>303</sup> Gibson (III:13, p.34) and de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167) do not read this word divider. It is certainly there.

9. 'nk | klmw | br hy' |<sup>309</sup> yšbt | 'l | ks' | 'by |<sup>310</sup> lpn |<sup>311</sup> hm

10. lkm[ ]<sup>312</sup>lpnym | ytl<sup>313</sup>n<sup>314</sup> mškbm | km | klbm | w'n?<sup>315</sup>[ ]<sup>316</sup>my | kt | 'b | wlmy | kt | 'm |

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<sup>304</sup> Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 255), and de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167) read a word divider here. There is none.

<sup>305</sup> Gibson (III:13, p.34) and Oeming ("Ich habe einen Greis gegessen," 90) read a *waw* here. There is none.

<sup>306</sup> Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542), Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 255), Bauer ("Die כלמ," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 184), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), Swiggers ("Notes, 2; 'Commentaire,' 134), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), Oeming ("Ich habe einen Greis gegessen," 90), Sperling ("KAI 24," 324), Liverani ("Kilamuwa 7-8 E II RE 7," 177), Rainey and Notley (*The Sacred Bridge*, 212), and Tropper (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 32) read *taw* here. Only the tail of this letter remains. It could be a *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *taw*.

<sup>307</sup> Bauer does not read this word divider ("Die כלמ," 690). It is certainly there.

<sup>308</sup> Peiser reads *dalet* ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 542). Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), and Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 255) reconstruct *gimel*. This letter is certainly *gimel*.

<sup>309</sup> De Moor does not read this word divider ("Narrative Poetry," 167). It is certainly there.

<sup>310</sup> De Moor does not read this word divider ("Narrative Poetry," 167). It is certainly there.

<sup>311</sup> Bauer does not read the word divider ("Die כלמ," 690). It is certainly there.

<sup>312</sup> The drawing in von Luschan has ".h" here (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* IV, 375). W. F. Albright Jr. ("Notes on Early Hebrew and Aramaic Epigraphy," *JPOS* 6 [1926]: 84), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), and Swiggers ("Notes, 2 n.7; 'Commentaire,' 134) read *he* here. (Note that O'Connor and Swiggers do not include word dividers in their transliterations.) Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 255), Bauer ("Die כלמ," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 186), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), Sperling ("KAI 24," 324), Rainey and Notley (*The Sacred Bridge*, 212), and Tropper (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 32; "Sie knurrten wie Hunde," 90) read ".h" here. As of the summer of 2011, this area is damaged, and nothing can be read with certainty.

<sup>313</sup> Bauer ("Die כלמ," 690) and Torrey ("The Zakar and Kalamu Inscriptions," 367) read *kap*. Tropper changes this letter to *kap* (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 32; "Sie knurrten wie Hunde," 90). Poebel reads *yod* ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33). Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 409), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 255), and O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19) read *waw* here. The right shoulder of this letter is quite high, and the appearance of its head might suggest a *waw* here. However, the tail of this letter suggests a *nun*. The following *nun* has a high right shoulder also. Though this letter is damaged, traces of its high right shoulder can be seen in the new photographs I produced for this study. For another example of *nun* with a high right shoulder, see the first *nun* in line five.

<sup>314</sup> Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 186), Magnanini ("Zincirli," 45), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), and de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167) read a word divider here. The 1964 edition of *KAI* 24 (p.5) reads a word divider; the 2002 edition (p.5) reconstructs one. The area is damaged. I do not see a word divider.

<sup>315</sup> Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977), Hehn ("Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu," 118), Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 408), Lagrange ("La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly," 255), Bauer ("Die כלמ," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische," 222), Albright ("Notes," 84), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 186), Magnanini ("Zincirli," 45), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 19), Swiggers ("Notes, 2 n.7), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 167), Sperling ("KAI 24," 324), Rainey and Notley (*The Sacred Bridge*, 212), and Tropper (*Die Inschriften von*

11. wlmy | k<sup>317</sup>t | 'h |<sup>318</sup> wmy<sup>319</sup> | bl<sup>320</sup> ḥz | pn | š | šty |<sup>321</sup> b'l | 'dr | wmy |<sup>322</sup> bl<sup>323</sup> ḥz | pn | 'lp | šty |  
b'l<sup>324</sup>
12. bqr | wb'l | ksp | wb'l | ḥrṣ | wmy | bl | ḥz | ktn | lmn'ry |<sup>325</sup> wbymy | ksy | b
13. š | w'nk | tmkt | mškbm |<sup>326</sup> lyd | whmt | št | nbš | km | nbš<sup>327</sup> ytm |<sup>328</sup> b'm | wmy |<sup>329</sup> bbn
14. y<sup>330</sup> 'š | yšb | tḥtn | w<sup>331</sup>yzq | bspr z | mškbm | 'l ykbd | lb'r<sup>332</sup>rm | wb'r<sup>333</sup>r

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*Zincirli*, 32; “Sie knurrten wie Hunde,” 90) read *kap* here. Only the tail of this letter remains. It could be a *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *taw*. Context supports the restoration of *kap* and the word ‘nk,’ ‘I.’”

<sup>316</sup> The drawing in von Luschan has “P” here (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* IV, 375). Bauer (“Die כלמ,” 690), Albright (“Notes,” 84), O’Connor (“The Rhetoric,” 19), and Swiggers (“Notes, 2 n.7) read *lamed* here. (Note that O’Connor and Swiggers do not include word dividers in their transliterations.) Littmann (“Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu,” 977), Hehn (“Die Inschrift des Königs Kalumu,” 118), Halévy (“L’inscription du roi Kalumu,” 408), Lagrange (“La nouvelle inscription de Sendjirly,” 255), Lidzbarski (“Eine phönizische,” 222), Poebel (“Inschriften des Aramäischen,” 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins (“The Kilamuwa stele,” 186), Magnanini (“Zincirli,” 45), Gibson (III:13, p.34), Segert (“Inscription of King Kilamuwa,” 270), de Moor (“Narrative Poetry,” 167), Sperling (“KAI 24,” 324), Rainey and Notley (*The Sacred Bridge*, 212), and Tropper (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 32; “Sie knurrten wie Hunde,” 90) read “P”. As of the summer of 2011, this area is damaged, and nothing can be read with certainty.

<sup>317</sup> Peiser changes this letter to *nun* (“Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli,” 542).

<sup>318</sup> De Moor does not read this word divider (“Narrative Poetry,” 167). It is certainly there.

<sup>319</sup> Only traces of this letter remain; it could be either a *he* or a *yod*. However, *yod* may be restored with certainty on analogy with the word *my* in surrounding lines.

<sup>320</sup> Halévy reads a word divider here (“L’inscription du roi Kalumu,” 409). There is none.

<sup>321</sup> Sperling does not read this word divider (“KAI 24,” 324). It is certainly there.

<sup>322</sup> Sperling does not read this word divider (“KAI 24,” 324). It is certainly there.

<sup>323</sup> Halévy reads a word divider here (“L’inscription du roi Kalumu,” 409). There is none.

<sup>324</sup> Brockelmann reads a word divider after the *lamed* (“Zu den Inschriften des Königs Kalumu,” 1143). There is none.

<sup>325</sup> Bauer does not read this word divider (“Die כלמ,” 690). It is certainly there.

<sup>326</sup> Sperling does not read this word divider (“KAI 24,” 324). It is certainly there.

<sup>327</sup> Tropper reads a word divider here (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli*, 32). I do not see one.

<sup>328</sup> Sperling does not read this word divider (“KAI 24,” 324). It is certainly there.

<sup>329</sup> Magnanini (“Zincirli,” 46) and Sperling do not read this word divider (“KAI 24,” 324). It is certainly there.

<sup>330</sup> Poebel reads a word divider here (“Inschriften des Aramäischen,” 33). I see none.

<sup>331</sup> Littmann (“Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu,” 977) and Halévy (“L’inscription du roi Kalumu,” 409) do not read the *waw*. It is there.

<sup>332</sup> Peiser changes this letter to *bet* (“Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli,” 542).

<sup>333</sup> Peiser changes this letter to *bet* (“Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli,” 542).

15. m | 'l ykbd | lmškbm |<sup>334</sup> wmy | yšht | hspr z | yšht | r's | b'l | šmd | 'š | lgb

16. wyšht | r's | b'l<sup>335</sup> hmn | 'š | lbm<sup>336</sup> h | wrkb'l | b'l | bt |

Translation:<sup>337</sup>

1. I am Kilamuwa, the son of Ḥayya[a'.]
2. Gabbar ruled over Y'DY, but he achieved n[othing.]
3. There was BNH, but he achieved nothing. Then, there was my father, Ḥayya', but he achieved nothing. Then, there was brother<sup>338</sup>
4. Š'L, but he achieved nothing. But I, Kilamuwa, son of TML, what I achieved,
5. their predecessors did not achieve. My father's house was in the midst of mighty kings.
6. And each one stretched forth his hand to fight. And I was in the hand of the kings like fire consuming
7. a beard and [ ] fire consuming a hand. Now the King of the Da[nu]nians was too powerful for me, but I hired
8. against him the King of Assyria. A young woma[n] was given for a sheep and a young man for a garment.
9. I, Kilamuwa, son of Ḥayya', sat on the throne of my father. Before the

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<sup>334</sup> The drawing in von Luschan (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* IV, 375), Peiser ("Die neue Inschrift aus Sendschirli," 544), Bauer ("Die כלמו," 690), Lidzbarski ("Eine phönizische, 222), Poebel ("Inschriften des Aramäischen," 33), *KAI* 24 ([1964], 5; [2002], 5), Collins ("The Kilamuwa stele," 186), Segert ("Inscription of King Kilamuwa," 270), O'Connor ("The Rhetoric," 20), Swiggers ("Commentaire," 134), de Moor ("Narrative Poetry," 168), and Sperling ("KAI 24," 324) do not read this word divider. Littmann ("Die Inschriften des Königs Kalumu," 977) and Halévy ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 409) reconstruct it. There is a word divider here. The traces are best seen in the new photographs I produced for this study.

<sup>335</sup> Halévy reads a word divider here ("L'inscription du roi Kalumu," 409). There is none.

<sup>336</sup> E. Lipiński ("From Karatepe to Pyrgi. Middle Phoenician Miscellanea," *RSF* 2 [1974]: 49) and Müller ("Phönizische historische Inschriften," 640) read *nun*. This letter is certainly a *mem*. Cf. note 266 above on the personal name "*bnh*" in line three.

<sup>337</sup> This translation is based on that of Younger ("The Kulamuwa Inscription," 147-48). See also Tropper, *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*.

<sup>338</sup> It is not clear to whose brother Kilamuwa refers, his own or his father's.

10. former kings, the *mškbm* were behaving like dogs. But I was to some a father, and to some a mother,
11. and to some a brother. Now whoever had never seen the face of a sheep, I made lord of a flock; and whoever had never seen the face of an ox, I made lord of
12. a herd; and lord of silver, and lord of gold; and whoever, from his childhood had never seen linen, in my days, wore byssos.
13. And I took the *mškbm* by the hand, and they showed me affection like the affection of a fatherless child toward its mother. Now, whoever of my sons,
14. sits in my place and damages this inscription, may the *mškbm* not honor the *b'rrm*, and may the *b'rrm*
15. not honor the *mškbm*. And whoever strikes out this inscription, may Ba'al-Šemed, (the god) of Gabbar, strike his head;
16. and may Ba'al-Ḥammon, (the god) of BMH, and Rakib-'El, the lord of the house, strike his head.

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:<sup>339</sup>

The Kilamuwa stele is dated, based on internal content, to the second half of the ninth century. Because it is the only Phoenician inscription from the ninth century that is dated independent of palaeographic analysis, it serves as an important benchmark in forming a typology of the Phoenician script series in this period. Additionally, however, it is important to note that palaeographic analysis alone also suggests a date for the stele in the second half of the ninth century. When the Kilamuwa stele script is compared with that of the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, it exhibits palaeographic innovations, innovations shared with the Honeyman inscription, Nora stone, and Bosa Fragment. Moreover, it exhibits additional characteristics that anticipate letter-

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<sup>339</sup> Note the overall rounded appearance of inscriptions carved in relief. Cf. the eighth-century Zincirli inscriptions.

form developments seen in eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions. The Kilamuwa stele's letter forms show a tendency for counterclockwise rotation, most clearly seen in the forms of *'alep*, *bet*, *gimel*, *dalet*, *he*, *het*,<sup>340</sup> *yod*,<sup>341</sup> *kap*, *mem*, *samek*,<sup>342</sup> *šade*, and *resh*.<sup>343</sup> Furthermore, *'alep*, *dalet*, *he*, *waw*, *kap*, *mem*, *šade*, and *taw* have typologically significant features,<sup>344</sup> and the form of *shin* in this inscription is noteworthy.

As discussed above, in the tenth-first half of the ninth centuries, *'alep*'s vertical shaft is the same length both above and below its head. In the latter half of the ninth century, **as seen in the Kilamuwa stele, *'alep*'s vertical shaft elongates downward, stretching further below its head than above.**<sup>345</sup> Note also that **the shaft of the Kilamuwa stele *'alep* exhibits slight curvature,** accentuating the letter's counterclockwise stance. This curvature is discussed in more detail below.

***Dalet* has a short stem,** as in the Honeyman inscription.<sup>346</sup>

*He*, like in those the Honeyman inscription and Nora stone, has a developed ninth-century form. **Its vertical spine never extends above its top parallel bar**—as did its tenth-century

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<sup>340</sup> Upright examples are also present. Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15; "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual," 405 = *Leaves*, 59), J. Naveh (*The Development of the Aramaic Script* [Jerusalem, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970], Fig. 1), and Amadasi Guzzo (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12) do not include examples with counterclockwise rotation in their script charts. Cf. the comments on *het* made by Röllig and the sound response by Cross (Röllig, "Paläographische Beobachtungen zum ersten Auftreten der Phönizier in Sardinien," 127; Cross, "Phoenicians in the West," 126 n.17 = *Leaves*, 257-58 n.26).

<sup>341</sup> Upright examples are also present. Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15; "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual," 405 = *Leaves*, 59) and Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 1) do not include upright examples in their script charts.

<sup>342</sup> Upright examples are also present. Cross does not include upright examples in his script chart ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15; "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual," 405 = *Leaves*, 59). He also only includes an example of *samek* whose vertical shaft pierces its uppermost horizontal bar. While some examples of *samek* in the Kilamuwa stele do exhibit this penetration, the majority do not. Amadasi Guzzo (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12) and Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 1) do not include examples with counterclockwise rotation in their script charts.

<sup>343</sup> Upright examples are also present.

<sup>344</sup> Cross draws *zayin* as if its vertical shaft slants a little to the left (like later transitional forms) ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15; "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual," 405 = *Leaves*, 59). This is not the case.

<sup>345</sup> Cf. McCarter, "Paleographic Notes," 55.

<sup>346</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, 56. The stem is not nearly as long as Amadasi Guzzo has drawn it in her script chart (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12).

predecessor's—**though it consistently descends below its bottom one**. Furthermore, the Kilamuwa *he* exemplifies an additional innovation that occurs during the second half of the ninth century and into the eighth, **the spine of Phoenician *he* grows longer and descends further**. Similar to *'alep*'s vertical shaft, *he*'s spine is also curved.<sup>347</sup> This is discussed in more detail below.

***Waw* has the upside-down-h form**, seen in the Honeyman inscription. **Its spine arches back in a clockwise direction.**

***Kap* has the same basic form as the Nora *kap*. It has a three-pronged head, a tail, and is rotated counterclockwise. However, its tail displays additional development in that it has lengthened** beyond that of the Nora example, resembling the tail of Phoenician *kap* in the eighth-early seventh centuries (as seen below).<sup>348</sup>

***Mem* is formed like that in the Honeyman, Nora, and Bosa inscriptions. It has a five-stroke, zigzag shape with an elongated bottom stroke and exhibits counterclockwise rotation.**

***Šade* has a z-shaped form**, as in the Nora stone. However, **its vertical shaft has lengthened downward**,<sup>349</sup> and this elongation continues in Phoenician inscriptions into the eighth century.

***Shin* is rather idiosyncratic. It is large and stands as tall as most other letters.** The typical form of *shin* in Phoenician inscriptions from the Iron II period is half this size.

**The Kilamuwa *taw* is +-shaped. Its vertical stroke is quite long and forms a considerable tail**, quite longer than the Honeyman and Nora *taws*. Moreover, as exhibited by some examples of *taw* in the Kilamuwa stele, during the latter part of the ninth century, **the shorter**

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<sup>347</sup> Amadasi Guzzo includes a four-barred *he* in her Kilamuwa script chart (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12). There are no four-barred *hes* in this inscription.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. McCarter, "Paleographic Notes," 56.

As mentioned above and discussed in detail below, eventually during the latter part of the ninth-century and into the eighth, the head of *kap* begins to break down in a variety of ways. Friedrich (*Phonizisch-punische Grammatik*, [1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, and 3<sup>rd</sup> eds.], *Schrifttafeln I*), Haines ("Paleographical Study," 164-66, 487), and Amadasi Guzzo (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12) believe there are some developed examples of *kap* in the Kilamuwa stele, having heads that have already begun to break down. However, both on-site collation and the new sets of images of this inscription that both West Semitic Research and I have produced make clear that the head of the Kilamuwa *kap* remains intact. Its middle prong splits equally the distance between its left and right prongs.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. McCarter, "Paleographic Notes," 56. *Šade*'s vertical shaft does not have the idiosyncratic form shown in Amadasi Guzzo's script chart (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12).

horizontal stroke of +-shaped *taws* begins to shorten even further on the left side.<sup>350</sup> This phenomenon continues in the Phoenician script in the eighth century, as discussed below.

## The Cursive Corpus

### The Tambourit Amphora (Fig. 9)

The Tambourit amphora was found in a tomb in Tambourit, Lebanon around 1971. It was recovered by R. Saïdah during excavations organized by the General Directorate of Antiquities of Lebanon. The tomb's excavators date its contents to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century BCE.<sup>351</sup>

The amphora bears a three-letter cursive ink inscription. Though short, this text is of great importance, as it is the oldest extant inscription from the Phoenician homeland. It is difficult to classify the language of such a short inscription; however, the text is written in Phoenician script and dates to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century.<sup>352</sup> P. Bordreuil published the text along with a good image and a bibliography. He suggests the word on the amphora might be a toponym.<sup>353</sup>

Transliteration:

*'qm*

Significant Palaeographic Features:

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<sup>350</sup> However, it still pierces the vertical stroke on the left, contra Amadasi Guzzo's script chart (*Iscrizioni fenicie e puniche in Italia*, 12).

<sup>351</sup> Liban, *Les dossiers de l'archaéologie* 12 (1975): 106; R. Saïdah, "Une tombe de l'âge du fer à Tambourit (region de Sidon)," *Berytus* 25 (1977): 135-47; P. Bordreuil, "De Arqa à Akshaph: notes de toponymie phénicienne," in *La toponymie antique: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 12-14 juin 1975*. Travaux du centre de recherches sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques 4 (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 179-80; idem, "Épigraphie d'amphore phénicienne du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Berytus* 25 (1977): 159-61.

<sup>352</sup> Bordreuil dates the text to the second half of the ninth century BCE ("Épigraphie d'amphore phénicienne du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle," 160).

<sup>353</sup> Bordreuil, "Épigraphie d'amphore phénicienne du 9<sup>e</sup> siècle," 159-61.



The letters *mem* and *qop* are important for a palaeographic analysis of the text. Like the *mem* of the Honeyman, Nora, Bosa, and Kilamuwa inscriptions, **the Tambourit *mem* maintains the typical tenth-century, five-stroke, zigzag form of the Byblian inscriptions, as well as the counterclockwise rotation and elongation of the bottom stroke**, that are anticipated in the Shipitba'al inscription, and are developed further in Phoenician *mem* during the ninth century.<sup>354</sup>

**The Tambourit *qop* exhibits very slight counterclockwise rotation.** From the tenth<sup>355</sup> through the first part of the eighth centuries, Phoenician *qop*'s vertical stroke fully bisects its circular head into two equal parts. During the eighth century, however, *qop* undergoes significant development. Its head is no longer drawn with a single circular stroke, but with two separate strokes, and begins to break down into two distinct and somewhat disconnected sections (discussed below). This phenomenon was driven by the cursive execution of the letter and is anticipated in the shape of the Tambourit *qop*. **Though its head is drawn with a single stroke, it does not completely connect to form a perfect circle.**

### A Palaeographic Analysis of the Early Iron II Phoenician Inscriptions

In the following pages, I offer a comprehensive analysis of the development of the Phoenician script in the early Iron II period. I draw especially from my previous individual analyses of the ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions and compare these texts to Phoenician inscriptions from the tenth and eighth centuries. I also make brief comparisons to the Hebrew and Aramaic script series; however, I will treat these scripts in full in the following chapters.

P. K. McCarter produced the definitive study of the development of Phoenician script in the tenth-eighth centuries BCE, in his 1975 dissertation, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet and The*

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<sup>354</sup> As the ink of the Tambourit text is faded, it is difficult to determine the exact length of *mem*'s tail in this inscription. All Phoenician inscriptions dated to the eighth-early seventh centuries have a five-stroke, zigzag shape, except for the inscriptions from Incirli and Karatepe, which will be discussed below.

<sup>355</sup> See the discussion of the Shipitba'al *qop* below.

*Early Phoenician Scripts*.<sup>356</sup> As his work is the sole systematic treatment of this script series, I interact more with him than with other scholars who treat only individual Phoenician inscriptions, especially as their work often offers only cursory palaeographic discussion. I also interact to a lesser degree with J. B. Peckham's 1968 study, *The Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, which treats the Phoenician inscriptions of the eighth-first centuries BCE.

The work of McCarter and Peckham continues to be highly important for any treatment of this subject. Nonetheless, an updated analysis of the early Iron II Phoenician script is valuable for several reasons. To begin with, since the time they produced their studies, more Iron II Phoenician inscriptions have been recovered, and I have dealt with many of these in this chapter. Moreover, at the time they conducted their analyses, many of the relevant inscriptions were available only via photographs, and these photographs were often of poor quality. As discussed in the previous chapter, my work presented here is based both on personal on-site collation, as well as on more recently produced, high-quality images of many of these inscriptions, including those that I produced particularly for this study.<sup>357</sup>

### **The Phoenician Letter Forms:**

**'alep** – Throughout the tenth-early seventh centuries, the head of Phoenician **'alep** is formed by two oblique lines<sup>358</sup> that meet in a v-shaped nose on the left side. The tip of this nose may be sharply or bluntly pointed.<sup>359</sup> In the tenth century, **'alep**'s head is touched by this vertical shaft at its

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<sup>356</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*.

<sup>357</sup> For a further discussion, see the section on "Modes of Analysis" in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>358</sup> In Phoenician the 'Ahirom sarcophagus, there is a tick at the right end of the bottom oblique. This is idiosyncratic to this particular inscription and is not typologically significant for the development of Phoenician **'alep**. McCarter states, "It probably represents a lapidary imitation of the final flourish of the brush in the cursive execution of the letter" (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 35). However, see the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology Chapter.

<sup>359</sup> Cf. note 370 below and the discussion of rounded/pointed heads in the Methodology chapter of this study.

extreme left end (royal Byblian inscriptions, 'Abda sherd).<sup>360</sup> This far leftward positioning of the shaft is a short-lived phenomenon, however. Though it is found in some Phoenician inscriptions dated to the twelfth-tenth centuries,<sup>361</sup> in earlier Canaanite inscriptions<sup>362</sup> and in later ninth—early seventh-century Phoenician inscriptions, the head of 'alep is not simply touched on the left end by the vertical shaft but is bisected by it.<sup>363</sup>

In the tenth-first half of the ninth centuries, 'alep's vertical shaft is the same length both above and below its head (Byblian inscriptions, Honeyman inscription, Nora stone, Bosa fragment). During the latter half of the ninth century, this vertical shaft elongates downward, stretching further below its head than above (Kilamuwa stele). This stem elongation is also seen in the eighth-early

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<sup>360</sup> See the discussion in Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 17 n.116; McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 35; Cross and McCarter, "Two Archaic Inscriptions on Clay Objects from Byblus," 8; Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 14 = *Leaves*, 95-96.

<sup>361</sup> For example, Byblos clay object B that is dated to the eleventh century (Cross and McCarter, "Two Archaic Inscriptions on Clay Objects from Byblus," 3-8). This is the form of 'alep in many of the arrowheads palaeographically dated to the twelfth and eleventh centuries (*KAI* 20-22; Gibson III: p.1-8; P.-E. Guigès, "Pointe de flèche en bronze à inscription phénicienne," *Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph* XI [1920]: 325-28; Milik and Cross, "Inscribed Javelin-Heads from the Period of the Judges," 5-15 = *Leaves*, 303-8; F. M. Cross Jr. and J. T. Milik, "A Typological Study of the El Khadr Javelin and Arrow-Heads," *ADAJ* 3 [1956]: 15-23; J. T. Milik, "An Unpublished Arrow-Head with Phoenician Inscription of the 11th-10th Century BC," *BASOR* 143 [1956]: 3-6; idem, "Flèches à inscriptions phéniciennes au musée national libanais," *Bulletin du musée de Beyrouth* 16 [1961]: 103-8; M. F. Martin, "A Twelfth Century Bronze Palimpsest," *RSO* 37 [1962]: 175-97; F. M. Cross Jr., "The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," *ErIsr* 8 [1967]: 21\* = *Leaves*, 326; idem, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *BASOR* 238 [1980], 1-20 = *Leaves*, 213-30; idem, "An Inscribed Arrowhead of the Eleventh Century BCE in the Bible Lands Museum in Jerusalem," *ErIsr* 23 [1992], 21-26 = *Leaves*, 203-6; idem, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads of the 11th Century BCE," *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology* [A. Biran and J. Aviram, eds.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1993], 533-42 = *Leaves* 207-12; idem, "The Arrow of Suwar, Retainer of 'Abday," *ErIsr* 25 [1996]: \*-17\* = *Leaves*, 195-202; P. K. McCarter Jr., "Two Bronze Arrowheads with Archaic Alphabetic Inscriptions," *ErIsr* 26 [1999], 123\*-28\*).

Cross says the Beth-Shemesh ostrakon "reveals the movement of the vertical arm (of 'alep) to the point" ("Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet," 21\* = *Leaves*, 326). An image of this ostrakon is found in E. Grant and I. F. Wood, *Ain Shems Excavations I (Palestine) 1928-1929--1930-1931* (Haverford, Penn.: Haverford College, 1931), Pl. X.

<sup>362</sup> For example, the Lachish ewer (J. Obermann, *The Archaic Inscriptions from Lachish: A Non-Phoenician System of the North Semitic Alphabet* [Baltimore: American Oriental Society, 1938]; T. H. Gaster, "The Archaic Inscriptions. A: The Inscription on the Ewer," in *Lachish II, the Fosse Temple* [O. Tufnell, C. H. Inge, and L. Harding, eds.; Oxford: Oxford University, 1940], 49-54); the Raddana handle (F. M. Cross Jr. and D. N. Freedman, "An Inscribed Jar Handle from Raddana," *BASOR* 201 [1971]: 19-22 = *Leaves*, 297-98; Y. Aharoni, "Khirbet Raddana and Its Inscription," *IEJ* 21 [1971]: 130-35); the Qubur Walaydah bowl (Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions," 1-4 = *Leaves*, 213-16; Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, 16); and the 'Izbit Šarṭah sherd (M. Kochavi, "An Ostrakon of the Period of the Judges from 'Izbit Šarṭah," *TA* 1 [1977]: 1-13; A. Demsky, "A Proto-Canaanite Abecedary Dating from the Period of the Judges and its Implications for the History of the Alphabet," *TA* 1 [1977]: 14-27; idem, "The 'Izbit Šarṭah Ostrakon Ten Years Later," in *'Izbit Šarṭah: An Early Iron Age Site Near Rosh Ha 'ayin* [I. Finkelstein, ed.; *BAR International Series* 299; Oxford, 1986], 186; J. Naveh, "Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from 'Izbit Šarṭah," *IEJ* 28 [1978]: 31-35; Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions," 8-16 = *Leaves*, 220-27; A. Dotan, "New Light on the 'Izbit Šarṭah Ostrakon," *TA* 8 [1981]: 160-72).

<sup>363</sup> Contra Haines, who argues that Phoenician maintains a preference for bisecting the head of 'alep extremely close to the tip of the nose ("Paleographical Study," 485, 490).

seventh centuries in Phoenician inscriptions, but some examples of *'alep* from this period maintain a shorter vertical shaft (Ba'al Lebanon and Kition bowls, Malta stele).<sup>364</sup>

In the ninth century, in Phoenician inscriptions, *'alep* exhibits counterclockwise rotation in comparison with the *'alep* of tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, which is upright in stance. It maintains this counterclockwise stance in the eighth-early seventh centuries, though upright examples also occur (Karatepe inscriptions, some examples in the Ba'al Lebanon bowl<sup>365</sup>). The shaft of the Kilamuwa stele *'alep*, and of at least one example of *'alep* in the Ba'al Lebanon bowl, exhibits slight curvature, accentuating this counterclockwise rotation (cf. *he* below). This curvature is not unique to Phoenician inscriptions, a similar curvature in *'alep*'s vertical shaft is seen in some contemporary Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>366</sup>

During the eighth century, another form of *'alep* appears in the Phoenician corpus. This new form has a head made with more parallel and less oblique strokes and anticipates the eventual breakdown of *'alep*'s head into two, short parallel lines in the seventh century.<sup>367</sup> The eighth-century Karatepe inscriptions exhibit both the standard and this new form of *'alep* and capture the transitional phase of this letter.<sup>368</sup> As will be referenced again below, the script of the formal Karatepe

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<sup>364</sup> The vertical stroke of *'alep* in the Seville statuette has elongated above and below both oblique strokes.

<sup>365</sup> *'Alepe* might also be rotated counterclockwise in the Kition bowl, but it is often difficult to determine letter stance in this inscription, because it is incised around the bottom of a bowl. Cf. the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>366</sup> The Aramaic inscriptions with curved *'alep* are formal, the Hebrew are cursive.

<sup>367</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 52.

Though the head strokes of *'alep* in the Malta stele do not completely connect at the end, this is likely an effect of the poor skill of the engraver, as the script of the inscription is rather crude (see note 144). It appears that the engraver was attempting to make two oblique and not parallel head strokes. Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter. For a discussion of *'alep*'s form from the seventh century and later, see Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Script*, especially 44-45, 66-69, 104-13.

<sup>368</sup> Cf. the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology chapter.

inscriptions displays considerable cursive influence,<sup>369</sup> and its letter forms are advanced beyond the typical eighth-century formal forms; this new form of 'alep is likely an example of such.<sup>370</sup>

Phoenician 'alep may be distinguished from Hebrew and Aramaic 'aleps by the eighth century. As will be shown in the following chapters, in this period Hebrew 'alep develops a tick<sup>371</sup> on the right side of its bottom oblique head stroke, and Aramaic 'alep takes a star-shaped appearance.

**bet** – In the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician bet is composed of a spine on the right connected to a sharp or blunted triangular head<sup>372</sup> and a foot on the left. This foot is distinct from the vertical spine<sup>373</sup> and comes across to the left,<sup>374</sup> either sharply or roundly,<sup>375</sup> and either straight across or angled downward. It is typically the length of the head.

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<sup>369</sup> See note 395. Cf. the discussion of a “lost cursive” in the Methodology Chapter.

<sup>370</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 52; Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Script*, 134.

As part of this discussion both McCarter and Peckham (McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 52; Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Script*, 132) mention the roundness of the nose of 'alep in the Karatepe inscriptions. However, the pointedness or roundness of the nose of 'alep is not typologically significant in this period. Though the nose of some of the Karatepe 'aleps are round, the shape of the nose is only the result of another feature that is typologically significant, namely the fact that the head strokes of the 'alep are moving toward parallel in the cursive execution of the letter (cf. the discussion of Karatepe's cursive features in note 395). It is this movement that will eventually lead to the breakdown 'alep's head. I came to this conclusion while discussing this with McCarter personally. See note 222 above, the discussions of round/pointed features in bet, dalet, yod, lamed, pe, and resh, as well as the discussion of overly stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter. McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 52) and Peckham (*Development of the Late Phoenician Script*, 132) also state that the Carthage pendant has a round-nosed 'alep. I find the 'aleps in this inscription more pointed than round.

<sup>371</sup> Cf. the discussion of ticks in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>372</sup> Often the size and shape of bet's head is said to be typologically significant in this period. Cross says the “large-headed, squat form of bet” is more of a ninth- than an eighth-century feature (“Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain,” 193 = *Leaves*, 275). McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 35, 52-53) states that the head of Phoenician bet is large and round in the tenth and ninth centuries, but that in the eighth century both smaller and more triangular forms appear (cf. the discussion of bet in the chapter on tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan). As with the head of 'alep discussed above, when examining the heads of bets in the early Iron II inscriptions, it is clear that the shape of the head of Phoenician bet may vary throughout this period (and even within the same inscription, for example in the 'Ahiham and Honeyman inscriptions); its nose may be either sharply pointed or more blunted or round. Furthermore, its head may also vary in size. These variations have no typological significance for the tenth-early seventh centuries, the period under discussion in this chapter. Cf. the discussions of round/pointed features in dalet, yod, lamed, pe, and resh, as well as the discussion of overly stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter.

Note the variations in the size of bet's head in the Byblos clay objects, both of which are dated to the eleventh century (Cross and McCarter, “Two Archaic Inscriptions on Clay Objects from Byblus,” 3-8). Cross argues that the head of bet in Byblos clay object B is smaller and, therefore, that this inscription is later than Byblos clay object A. While the head of bet is smaller in Byblos clay object B than in object A, the head in object B has also no real difference in size from any of the Phoenician inscriptions from the tenth-early seventh centuries. Also note the shape of bet's head in the Karatepe inscriptions. Some examples are sharply pointed, while others are clearly round.

<sup>373</sup> Except in the Phoenician Ba'al Lebanon bowl.

<sup>374</sup> Note the rare form of bet with a foot turned in the opposite direction. It is found in the Shipitba'al inscription, the 'Abda sherd, and in fragmentary inscriptions from Hazor dated to the tenth-ninth centuries (Y. Yadin and S. Angress,

In the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, *bet* stands upright. During the ninth century, it begins to rotate counterclockwise, but upright forms may still be seen in this period (Nora stone, some examples in the Honeyman inscription) and into the eighth century (Ba'al Lebanon bowl, some examples in the Karatepe inscriptions).<sup>376</sup>

Phoenician *bet* may be distinguished from Hebrew *bet* by the ninth century, as Hebrew *bet* begins to rotate in a clockwise direction. By the eighth century, Aramaic *bet* also exhibits a unique form; its head begins to open at the top.

*gimel* – From the tenth through the early seventh centuries, Phoenician *gimel* is made up of two strokes. The right stroke is usually longer; however, in the tenth-early ninth centuries, the left stroke may also be ('Abiba'al inscription; the 'Eliba'al and Shipitba'al inscriptions have examples of both forms). *Gimel* favors counterclockwise rotation,<sup>377</sup> though upright examples also occur ('Ahiham sarcophagus, some examples in the Nora stone).

Hebrew *gimel* stands apart from Phoenician by the late ninth-early eighth century, as its fore-stroke begins to extend past its vertical shaft on the right. Phoenician and Aramaic *gimel* are indistinguishable throughout the early Iron II period.

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*Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1960), 70-75; Pls. CLXIX-CLXXII).

<sup>375</sup> As with the discussion of *bet*'s head, some scholars (see example below) argue that the angle of *bet*'s foot has typological significance for the tenth-eighth centuries. This is not the case. Both round and sharply-angled feet appear in the epigraphic record during this period. For further discussion see the Methodology chapter of this study.

Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 101-2, 139) makes several contradictory statements. Though he states that both round- and angular-footed *bets* were used concurrently (pointing especially to the Sefire inscriptions), he still seems to imply that the shape of *bet*'s foot has some typological significance in the tenth-eighth centuries. He says on page 101, "the curved-stem *beth* is attested earlier than the vertexed-stemmed (angular) *beth* in Phoenician inscriptions of the tenth and early ninth century BCE;" and "The fact that the vertexed-stem *beth* is the most common form beyond the tenth-century BCE Phoenicia, while both forms do appear concurrently, suggests that the curved-stem *beth* is a variation of the vertexed-form outside Phoenicia. In early Phoenician inscriptions, however, the curved-stem *beth* prevails;" and on page 139, "Indeed, the curved-stem *beth* is not attested without the vertexed-stem *beth*, except in tenth century BCE Phoenicia. . . That is, the curved-stem *beth* is not mutually exclusive from the vertexed-stem *beth* at this time." As demonstrated in my script charts for this study, both round- and angular- ("vertexed") footed *bets* (as well as forms in between) are attested throughout the tenth-ninth centuries in both Phoenician (and Aramaic) inscriptions.

<sup>376</sup> Athas states that "all early Phoenician *beths* lean to the right" (*Tel Dan Inscriptions*, 102). This is not correct. Also, Rollston ("Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions," 81) states that in the ninth century, a counterclockwise stance becomes the norm for Phoenician *bet*; however, as stated above, though *bet* does begin to rotate counterclockwise in the ninth century, this stance is not the norm until the eighth century.

<sup>377</sup> Note that *gimel* in the 'Abiba'al and Shipitba'al inscriptions, as well one example in the 'Eliba'al inscription, displays extreme counterclockwise rotation, forming a "tee-pee" shape.

*dalet* – Throughout the tenth century, Phoenician *dalet* is roughly the shape of a triangle, with a round or pointed nose.<sup>378</sup> It is shorter than most other letters (royal Byblian inscriptions). However, by the end of this century and into the ninth, *dalet* develops a short stem (‘Abda sherd, Honeyman inscription, Kilamuwa stele). McCarter attributes this development to rapid cursive execution.<sup>379</sup> He states, “The writing instrument is first moved forward to the left in the direction of writing, then back and up from the nose to the top corner; the vertical shaft is drawn last. This creates the possibility of a rudimentary stem or tail.”<sup>380</sup> Toward the end of the ninth century and into the eighth, *dalet*’s stem continues to lengthen so that, by the eighth century, *dalet* is as tall as most other letters and less distinguishable from *resh* (Seville statuette, Carthage pendant, Malta stele).

In the tenth-century, *dalet* stands upright (Byblian inscriptions). During the ninth century, it begins to rotate counterclockwise, but upright forms may still be seen in this period (Nora stone) and into the eighth and early seventh centuries (Seville statuette, Karatepe inscriptions, Malta stele<sup>381</sup>).

Phoenician and Aramaic *dalets* are indistinguishable throughout the early Iron II period. Hebrew *dalet*’s upper head stroke begins to extend past its spine on the right side during the eighth century.

*he* – In the tenth-century, Phoenician *he* is composed of a vertical spine on the right, which extends above and below three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel bars on the left. These three bars are of roughly equal length and are either horizontal (‘Ahiram sarcophagus) or angled down to the left

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<sup>378</sup> McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 36, 53-54, 62) argues that the shape (pointedness or roundness) and size of *dalet*’s head have particular typological significance. However, these types of variations are not typologically significant for *dalet* in the tenth-early seventh centuries, as they occur not only in inscriptions from these different periods, but also within individual inscriptions. Note, for example, the variation in the heads of *dalets* in the Honeyman, Karatepe, and Kition inscriptions. It is the development of the stem that is the hallmark of typological change for Phoenician *dalet* in this period. Cf. the discussions of round/pointed features in ‘alep, bet, yod, lamed, pe, and resh, as well as the discussion of overly stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>379</sup> Cf. the discussions of cursive script expressions and ductus in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>380</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 53.

<sup>381</sup> It is often difficult to determine letter stance in the Ba‘al Lebanon and Kition bowls, because they are incised around the bottom of round bowls. In the Ba‘al Lebanon bowl, examples of *dalet* stand upright, are rotated counterclockwise, and are rotated clockwise.

(Yehimilk inscription, ‘Abda sherd), likely in anticipation of *he*’s eventual counterclockwise rotation in the ninth century. (*He* maintains this rotated stance in the eighth century.)

In the ninth century, Phoenician *he*’s vertical spine never extends above its top parallel bar, though it consistently descends below its bottom one (Honeyman inscription, Nora stone). Furthermore, the Kilamuwa *he* demonstrates that during the second half of the ninth century and into the eighth, the spine of *he* grows longer and descends further (so also Karatepe inscriptions and Kition bowl). The spine of *he* in the Kilamuwa stele is quite curved (cf. ‘*alep*’ above). This curvature is not unique to Phoenician inscriptions, a similar curvature in *he*’s spine is seen in some contemporary Aramaic and Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>382</sup>

Phoenician and Hebrew *he* can be distinguished by the late ninth-early eighth century. In this period, Hebrew *he*’s top horizontal bar begins to extend past its vertical spine on the right side. Furthermore, an alternate four-barred form of *he* appears with some frequency in early Iron II Hebrew-script inscriptions. Aramaic *he* mirrors its Phoenician counterpart until the eighth century, when its bottom parallel bars begin to detach from its vertical spine.

**waw** – In the tenth century, Phoenician *waw* stands upright and has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head. It resembles a goblet or a bowl sitting atop a vertical stem (Byblian inscriptions). However, by the late tenth-early ninth century, it has begun to lean slightly clockwise, and its head

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<sup>382</sup> Cross regards “box-like forms” of *he* as more archaic than rounded forms (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,’” 14-16 = *Leaves*, 95-96; “The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 40 = *Leaves*, 175). Furthermore, Cross calls the rounded form of *he* “a rounded semi-cursive Aramaic form” (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,’” 14 = *Leaves*, 95). However, because a rounded *he* appears in the Kilamuwa stele, as noted here, this should not be seen as an exclusively Aramaic letter feature (also cf. the contemporary Hebrew inscriptions). As noted above, Cross argues that the script of the Kilamuwa stele is Aramaic; yet, he did not published his reasons for classifying the script in this way.

McCarter says that in the Karatepe inscriptions and in the Kition bowl, *he* is “drawn in a simplified manner, probably under the influence of a cursive *he*. The incision began at the forward end of the top horizontal. The writing instrument was drawn back and then down, forming the top horizontal and spine in a single stroke. The other two horizontals were then added. The result of this method was a form of *he* with a rounded shoulder and greatly elongated stem at the bottom. It anticipates seventh-century forms and recalls the contemporary (ninth-eighth-century) Aramaic *he*” (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 54). I do not see any particular rounding of *he*’s shoulder in the Karatepe inscriptions. With regard to Kition’s cursive features, see note 395.

The Aramaic inscriptions with curved *he* are formal, the Hebrew are cursive.



has begun to break down, resembling an upside-down h (Shipitba'al inscription).<sup>383</sup> It is noteworthy that while most Phoenician letter forms undergo counterclockwise rotation in the late tenth-ninth centuries, *waw* tends toward clockwise rotation.<sup>384</sup> Either its spine arches back or the entire letter leans in that direction.

McCarter accounts for the development of *waw* in the following way:

The method of drawing the form accounts for the asymmetry. It is accomplished in two strokes. The first begins at the top of the right side of the bowl. The writing instrument is drawn down and forward to the center of the bowl, then straight down forming the stem. The second stroke begins at the top of the left side of the bowl and curves downward in an arc to meet the other stroke at the joint. In subsequent development, the first stroke tends to straighten and the joint to disappear. Thus the second stroke is drawn as a hook attached to a vertical shaft.<sup>385</sup>

In the ninth-eighth centuries, the upside-down-h form of *waw* becomes the standard from in Phoenician inscriptions; however, some examples reminiscent of the earlier cup-shaped form may still be seen (Nora stone, some examples in the Karatepe inscriptions). This form of *waw* is also seen in contemporary Aramaic inscriptions; however, Hebrew maintains the earlier cup-shaped form of *waw* through the ninth century and develops a more *hamza*-headed<sup>386</sup> form by the end of the eighth.

***zayin*** – During the tenth-early ninth centuries, Phoenician *zayin* stands upright (Byblian inscriptions).<sup>387</sup> It begins to rotate in a counterclockwise direction during the ninth century, and this rotation persists in the eighth, though upright examples still occur (Kilamuwa and Karatepe inscriptions).

From the tenth-eighth centuries, Phoenician *zayin* may be tall, standing the full height of the line (ʿAhiiram and Shipitba'al inscriptions, Ba'al Lebanon bowl, one example in the Honeyman

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<sup>383</sup> The Shipitba'al inscription captures this period of *waw*'s transition, as it exhibits both the earlier upright, cup-shaped form (the first *waw* in line five) and the evolving rotated, upside-down-h form (the *waw* in line four and the second *waw* in line five). Cf. the discussion of dual forms/by-forms/allophorms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>384</sup> *Pe* is the only other letter to exhibit slight clockwise rotation in the early Iron II period.

<sup>385</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 54-55.

<sup>386</sup> See the Hebrew-script chapter.

<sup>387</sup> The Phoenician Shipitba'al *zayin* and one of the two Aramaic Gozan pedestal *zayins* exhibit clockwise rotation. This rotation is not typical. As noted in the Aramaic-script chapter, the script of the Gozan pedestal inscription exhibits some minor inconsistencies.

inscription), though it is typically shorter than other letters (Yehimilk and 'Eliba'al inscriptions, Kilamuwa stele, Incirli stele, Karatepe inscriptions, one example in the Honeyman inscription). Its horizontal strokes and vertical shaft are roughly the same length.<sup>388</sup>

Over the course of the ninth-eighth centuries, the form of *zayin* changes from an I- to a z-shape (Kition bowl, some examples in the Karatepe inscriptions<sup>389</sup>). This change occurs as a result of rapid cursive writing—executing the letter with one continuous motion and not lifting the scribal instrument to make three individual strokes, as with the I-shaped *zayin*.<sup>390</sup> This is the form of *zayin* seen in contemporary Aramaic inscriptions; however, Hebrew *zayin* maintains an I-shape throughout the early Iron II period. Also during the eighth century, *zayin* maintains a short vertical shaft, while its horizontals grow quite long; and it develops ticks on the right side of its lower and sometimes upper horizontal bars.

The eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions have both I- and z-shaped *zayins*. The I-shaped *zayin* has a noteworthy feature—tick marks. (Both *samek* and *taw* also have tick marks in the Karatepe inscriptions). These ticks most often appear on the right side of *zayin*'s top and bottom

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<sup>388</sup> The exceptions to this are the tenth-century 'Ahiiram sarcophagus, the ninth-century Kilamuwa stele, and the eighth-century Ba'al Lebanon bowl. In the 'Ahiiram sarcophagus and Ba'al Lebanon bowl, *zayin*'s vertical shaft is longer than its horizontal strokes. In the Kilamuwa stele, *zayin*'s horizontal strokes are longer than its vertical shaft.

McCarter states that "The horizontals are narrower on the *zayin* of the 'Ahiiram sarcophagus; and they become progressively so in the Yehimilk, 'Elib'al, and Shipitb'al inscriptions, while the vertical shaft remains quite long" (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 37, 55). I only observe this difference in the length of the vertical and horizontal strokes of *zayin* in the 'Ahiiram sarcophagus (and in the eighth-century Ba'al Lebanon *zayin*).

Likewise, Rollston says "Note . . . the more diminutive length of the vertical of the *zayin* in the Kilamuwa inscription. This (relative shortness) should be seen as a late typological feature" ("Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions," 81). To my eye, the longer length of the Kilamuwa horizontals is relatively anomalous. With regard to subsequent, eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions, that might exhibit such "a late(r) typological feature," as noted above, the Ba'al Lebanon *zayin* has short horizontals, and the Karatepe *zayin*'s vertical and horizontal strokes are of roughly equal length.

<sup>389</sup> The z-shaped *zayin* is found only in the "separate inscriptions" from Karatepe. See "Separate Inscriptions Pho/S. I. a and b" in Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*, 75-76, Pls. 106-7. Those scholars who produced studies of the Karatepe inscriptions before this publication seem to be unaware of the presence of the z-shaped *zayin* at Karatepe. As mentioned above, this z-shaped *zayin* provides another example of the way in which the Karatepe inscriptions were heavily influenced by the cursive expression of the script (see note 395).

Haines concludes that the Phoenician and Aramaic *zayins* part ways in the eighth century, as Phoenician retains the I-shaped *zayin* ("Paleographical Study," 486-97, 502); however, new data disproves this conclusion. The more recently found eighth-century Phoenician Kition bowl has a z-shaped *zayin*, and H. Çambel's new published photographs of the Karatepe inscriptions reveal that a z-shaped *zayin* was employed there as well during the eighth century (Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*). For a discussion of Kition's cursive features, see note 395.

<sup>390</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 55.

horizontal strokes, but may also appear on the left side of its top horizontal. It is often hard to see them in the published photographs.<sup>391</sup>

Peckham says that these ticks are not particular to the Phoenician *zayin* 's later development, though he thinks that they probably anticipate the development of the alternative z-shaped *zayin*.<sup>392</sup> McCarter regards these ticks as a temporary peculiarity and states that they have nothing to do with Phoenician *zayin* 's subsequent development.<sup>393</sup> In the most recent complete palaeographic treatment of the Karatepe inscriptions, Röllig says the ticks might “result from the stonecutter’s chisel-stroke and (do) not belong to the typical form of the letter.”<sup>394</sup>

As previously mentioned, the script of the Karatepe inscriptions, though formal, has several cursive characteristics.<sup>395</sup> These ticks could be one of them, with the engraver mirroring what appears in the contemporary cursive script. As discussed in the Methodology chapter of this study, such ticks are likely the result of the rapid execution of a letter, especially when made with ink. As the scribe moves quickly from right to left, the ink is dragged a little as the final stroke of a letter is completed.<sup>396</sup> This creates a tick mark. However, if Röllig is correct, and the ticks of the Karatepe *zayin* are simply a result of the stonecutter’s chisel-stroke, then the engraver is not simply mirroring the cursive script, but a similar phenomenon has occurred—the tick still is a result of execution.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>391</sup> Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*.

<sup>392</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 104-5, 143.

<sup>393</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 55, 132-33.

<sup>394</sup> See Röllig’s analysis in Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*, 80-81. He does not include the ticks in his drawings of *zayin* on page 76. Though the ticks are not a typologically significant feature of Phoenician *zayin*, I believe they should be included in any script chart as an essential part of the I-shaped *zayin* at Karatepe. They appear consistently on the letter and seem to be neither stray nor random, but intentional marks made by the engraver.

<sup>395</sup> These cursive characteristics include: the forms of *’alep* with parallel head strokes, the ticks on the I-shaped *zayin*, *samek*, and *taw*; the z-shaped *zayin*; the three-stroke *mem*; the curved tails on *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, and *taw* (cf. the curved tails of *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, and *taw* in the Kition bowl); and the breakdown of the head of *qop*. The Kition bowl’s cursive features include: the round join of its top horizontal bar and its vertical shaft; the z-shaped *zayin*; the execution of *yod*; and the long curved tails of *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, and *taw*. Cf. the discussion of “lost cursive” in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>396</sup> Cf. the discussion of ticks in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>397</sup> Note, that in the contemporary cursive Phoenician Kition bowl, *zayin* has no tick marks.

Furthermore, just because a letter feature is the result of execution, it does not necessarily follow that this feature is not a significant part of the letter. For example, while ticks are not a typologically significant characteristic of Phoenician *zayin* and are not seen in the future development of the letter,<sup>398</sup> as mentioned above a similar tick does become a permanent feature of Hebrew *zayin*. Sometimes these marks of execution will remain as permanent features of the letter, sometimes they will not.<sup>399</sup>

*het* – In the tenth–eighth-centuries Phoenician inscriptions, *het* is ladder-shaped, with two vertical shafts on the left and right. In between these shafts lie typically three<sup>400</sup> shorter, evenly spaced, parallel bars. These bars may be horizontal or angled downward to the left. *Het*’s vertical shafts extend above and/or below its parallel bars on one or both sides.

*Het* prefers counterclockwise rotation, though upright examples occur (’Ahiram sarcophagus, Shipitba’al inscription, Ba’al Lebanon bowl, Karatepe inscriptions, Malta stele), and some inscriptions have both upright and counterclockwise-rotated examples (Kilamuwa stele).

During the eighth century, Phoenician *het*’s letter-form begins to break down; one or more of its parallel bars no longer touches its vertical shaft(s) (Carthage pendant, Malta stele, some examples in the Ba’al Lebanon bowl and Karatepe inscriptions). In contrast, Hebrew *het* remains intact; it also develops an alternate two-barred form that appears throughout the ninth and eighth centuries. Aramaic develops a distinct form of *het* in the eighth century, while two-barred forms are

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<sup>398</sup> Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>399</sup> The tick on the bottom oblique of the ’alep in the ’Ahiram sarcophagus is a good example of a tick that did not remain a significant feature of a letter’s form. This form of ’alep does not appear in any of the earlier or later inscriptions from Byblos.

<sup>400</sup> There is one four-barred *het* in the eleventh-century ’Azarba’al spatula from Byblos (*KAI* 3; Gibson III:1; P. K. McCarter and R. B. Coote, “The Spatula Inscription from Byblos,” *BASOR* 212 [1973]: 16-22). McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 37, 55-56; in R. E. Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter Jr., M. J. Lundberg, and B. Zuckerman, “An Abecedar of the Mid-Tenth Century BCE from the Judaean Shephelah,” *BASOR* 344 [2006]: 34) states that there are examples of two-barred *hets* in the eleventh-century Nora fragment, the tenth-century ’Ahiram graffito (Gibson III:5; *KAI* 2), the Yehimilk inscription, and the Shipitba’al inscription and that there is an example of a four-barred *het* in the Ba’al Lebanon bowl. However, further examination of these inscriptions reveals that all *hets* are three-barred. (For the Nora fragment see note 245.)

occasionally seen during this period, a one-barred form appears and becomes the standard type in subsequent periods.

**ṭet** – *Ṭet* does not occur often in Phoenician inscriptions and, consequently, undergoes little to no development<sup>401</sup> from the tenth-early seventh centuries.<sup>402</sup> Its typical form is a circle<sup>403</sup> with either an x or a + inside. It is as large as most other letters, especially in comparison with the circular *‘ayin* discussed below. Additionally, however, an alternate form does appear in the epigraphic corpus. This form is *theta*-shaped—a circle with only one diagonal cross bar. It is found in the tenth-century Phoenician Shipitba‘al inscription. This *theta*-shaped *ṭet* is also found in some eighth-century Aramaic inscriptions, and it becomes the dominant form of *ṭet* in the Aramaic script from the seventh century. *Theta*-shaped *ṭets* are also found rarely in Hebrew inscriptions in the eighth century, but the Hebrew script maintains a preference for the x-/+-shaped type.

**yod** – From the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician *yod* is formed as either a “2” or a “z,”<sup>404</sup> with an additional stroke midway down its spine on the left. In other words, *yod* is made up of a head stroke, an oblique spine, a foot stroke, and a tongue. Its head, foot, and tongue strokes are

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<sup>401</sup> Cf. the discussion “Dating an Inscription Palaeographically” in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>402</sup> There are no *ṭets* in the extant ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions.

<sup>403</sup> McCarter states that *ṭet* has collapsed into a more oval form with clockwise rotation in the eighth century (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 56; so also Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 146-47). However, only the Ba‘al Lebanon *ṭet* has an ovoid shape, and it could be that the “squashed” appearance of *ṭet* in this inscription is a result of either the medium of the inscription or of poor scribal execution, as are the messy forms of several other letters on the bowl, including the ovoid *‘ayin*, which is a circular letter in the eighth century. See note 141 and the discussion of scribal medium in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>404</sup> (Though the z-shaped *yod* is obviously more angular than the 2-shaped form, even this form has soft and less angular edges at times.) Haines thinks that the rounded form of *yod* is typologically significant and does not appear in the epigraphic record before the ninth century. He regards the form of the Phoenician Byblian *yods* as “an ephemeral development” (“Paleographical Study,” 155-56). He is not correct; both round 2-shaped and more angular z-shaped forms of *yod* are acceptable contemporary forms from at least the tenth-eighth centuries. Cf. McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 56-7. Lemaire states that *yod* is more angular in Aramaic and more rounded in Phoenician during the eighth century (“Notes d’épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique,” *Syria* 3/4 [1987]: 214). This is not the case. Rounded and angular forms of *yod* are found in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions during this period. Cf. the discussions of round/pointed features in *‘alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *lamed*, *pe*, and *resh*.

roughly the same length.<sup>405</sup> Its foot extends from the oblique spine to the bottom-right, either straight across or angled slightly upward.

*Yod* stands upright in the tenth-century (Byblian inscriptions), yet in the subsequent ninth and eighth centuries, it prefers a counterclockwise stance (though upright examples still are present [Nora stone, some examples in the Honeyman inscription and Kilamuwa stele]).<sup>406</sup> Aramaic and Phoenician *yod* are indistinguishable throughout the early Iron II period. Hebrew *yod* develops a tick on the right side of its foot in the late ninth-early eighth century. Furthermore, during the eighth century, its upper oblique and tongue stroke bend toward each other forming a triangular head, and its tongue begins to pierce its oblique spine on the right side.

***kap*** – In the tenth century, Phoenician *kap* is the same size as most other letters or slightly smaller. It has an upright, trident shape and no tail (Byblian inscriptions). As discussed above, during the first half of the ninth century, it rotates in a counterclockwise direction<sup>407</sup> and becomes smaller, as it develops a tail. Its left prong lies completely horizontal. Its middle prong splits equally the distance between the left and right prongs. Its right prong has lengthened considerably, forming the aforementioned tail, which slants from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction, either straight down or with slight curvature.

During the second half of the ninth and into the eighth century, *kap* undergoes additional changes. Its tail continues to lengthen (Kilamuwa stele), and its head begins to break down in a variety of ways. In the first type, *kap*'s left prong breaks away from the rest of its head and slides up

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<sup>405</sup> In the Kition bowl, the foot and tongue of *yod* are longer than the head stroke. The tongue is also disconnected from the body. It seems that in this bowl's cursive execution, the body of *yod* was made first, as one flowing, 2-shaped stroke, and the tongue was made as a second, separate stroke. For the cursive characteristics of the Kition bowl, see note 395.

<sup>406</sup> Peckham (*Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 150) states that the counterclockwise rotation of Phoenician *yod* begins in the eighth century, while McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 57) states that it begins in the seventh century; however, as examples of *yod* in the Honeyman inscription and in the Kilamuwa stele show, this tendency begins in the ninth.

<sup>407</sup> Cross states that *kap* rotates in a clockwise direction in ninth-century Phoenician ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyeh Bilingual," 407 = *Leaves*, 58-59). As compared to upright tenth-century Phoenician trident-shaped *kaps*, the head of ninth-century Phoenician *kap* has tilted in a counterclockwise direction.

its middle prong, and this becomes the standard form of *kap* in the eighth-century (Incirli stele, Karatepe inscriptions, Carthage pendant). In the second type, that appears only occasionally, the middle prong breaks away from the rest of the head and slides up the left prong (one of the two forms in the Ba'al Lebanon bowl). In the third type, an additional line is added connecting the left ends of the middle and left prongs and forming a triangle (Seville statuette, one of the two forms in the Malta stele).<sup>408</sup> Aramaic *kap* follows the Phoenician, and type one is also the standard form seen in Aramaic inscriptions from the eighth century.<sup>409</sup> Hebrew *kap*'s tail curls up at the end during the ninth century and it maintains an upright stance. During the eighth its head begins to breakdown in a way similar to the second Phoenician type.

***lamed*** – In the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician *lamed* is hook-shaped, and this hook may be curved or sharply angled.<sup>410</sup> Many inscriptions display both types (Nora stone, Ba'al Lebanon bowl, Karatepe inscriptions).<sup>411</sup> The upper part of the letter is longer than the lower.

As previously discussed, in the Phoenician inscriptions from the tenth-early seventh centuries, all letters essentially hang from a scribal ceiling line<sup>412</sup> in a relatively side-by-side position.

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<sup>408</sup> Haines argues that Phoenician and Aramaic *kaps* distinguish themselves in the eighth century ("Paleographical Study," 163-70, 487, 490, cf. 502-03); however, this is not the case. His conclusion is based upon his misunderstanding of the form of the Kilamuwa *kap*, as well as a failure to recognize the variety of forms of *kap* that exist in both traditions in this period.

<sup>409</sup> In Aramaic inscriptions one additional form is found. In this form *kap*'s left and middle prongs have combined into a single prong, with a fork at the end (some examples in the Sefire inscriptions and some in the Bar-Rakib silver bars).

<sup>410</sup> So also McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 58). Lemaire states that *lamed* is more angular in Aramaic and more rounded in Phoenician during the eighth century ("Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique," 214). A distinction between round and angular *lameds* is not typologically significant for Phoenician from the eleventh-sixth centuries. Prior to the eleventh century, examples of *lamed* are typically quite round and tightly curled (for example, the Qubur Walaydah bowl [Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions," 1-4= *Leaves*, 213-16]). From the fifth century on, examples of *lamed* are typically angular, with a flat bottom stroke that eventually develops a tick on the right end. See, for example, *lamed* in the Phoenician Cypriot tariff (CIS I, 86 B; Gibson III:33 B), Tabnit inscription (Gibson III:27, Pl. 3, 2), and 'Eshmun'azor inscription (CIS I, 3 A; Gibson III:28). Cf. the discussions of round/pointed features in '*alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *yod*, *pe*, and *resh*.

<sup>411</sup> McCarter states that "all attested examples (of *lamed*) from the ninth century (Honeyman, Nora Stone) show a rounded, broadly curving type" (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 58). However, the Nora stone has straighter, more angular examples of *lamed* as well.

<sup>412</sup> Cf. the discussion of scribal guide lines in the Methodology chapter.

The one exception to this is *lamed*, which begins to move upward during the ninth century,<sup>413</sup> with the result that its top stroke penetrates this ceiling line (Nora stone). This penetration persists in the eighth-early seventh centuries (Seville statuette, Incirli stele, Karatepe inscriptions, Carthage pendant). (No unique form of *lamed* develops in either Aramaic or Hebrew during the early Iron II period.)

Note that *lamed* does not pierce the ceiling line in all ninth—eighth-century inscriptions, and this is likely due to at least two factors: (1) the ninth-eighth centuries are a transitional period with regard to this change, and (2) the media of a particular inscription often affects the height of letters with respect to the scribal ceiling line. For example, there is little room for letters to rise above the ceiling line when inscribed in small areas, such as on bowls (Ba‘al Lebanon and Kition bowls) or in tight registers (Kilamuwa stele).

**mem** – In the tenth century, Phoenician *mem* has a five-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom stroke has begun to lengthen slightly<sup>414</sup> (Byblian inscriptions, especially in the Shipitba‘al inscription). It stands upright, except for one example in the Shipitba‘al inscription that exhibits slight counterclockwise rotation (*mem* in line one),<sup>415</sup> anticipating this development in Phoenician script in the ninth century. In the first half of the ninth century, *mem* maintains the five-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom stroke is distinctly longer than its other four strokes. It exhibits clear counterclockwise rotation (Honeyman, Nora, and Bosa inscriptions).<sup>416</sup> During the second half of the

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<sup>413</sup> Haines argues that *lamed*’s penetration of the ceiling line occurs in the tenth century (“Paleographical Study,” 177). I do not observe this penetration in the epigraphic record before the ninth century.

<sup>414</sup> Cross states that Phoenician *mem*’s tail lengthens at the beginning of the eighth century (“Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain,” 193-94 = *Leaves*, 275; Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakḥariyeh,” 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59; “Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 16 = *Leaves*, 96). It is clear based on the examples above that this phenomenon happens earlier. Also, when one compares the length of *mem*’s bottom stroke in the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions with its length in the eleventh-century Phoenician ‘Azarba‘al spatula, it is clear that this stroke has begun to elongate in the Phoenician script by the tenth century (Rollston, “Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” 74).

<sup>415</sup> See the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>416</sup> Cross states that *mem* rotates in a clockwise direction in ninth-century Phoenician (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakḥariyeh Bilingual,” 407 = *Leaves*, 58-59). As compared to upright tenth-century Phoenician Byblian *mem*, the head of ninth-century Phoenician *mem* has tilted in a counterclockwise direction.



ninth-early seventh centuries, the four upper strokes of *mem* continue to rotate counterclockwise, forming a more horizontal head. This head begins to distinguish itself from *mem*'s bottom tail stroke, which continues to lengthen.<sup>417</sup>

Furthermore, in the eighth century, Phoenician *mem* undergoes additional development. It is no longer executed in five strokes but in three; its zigzag has broken down. Its head is made up of two strokes, a bent one which touches the tail stroke and another straight one which divides the head stroke into two parts, by either just touching it or by piercing it completely through (Incirli stele, Karatepe inscriptions<sup>418</sup>). This change is certainly driven by the cursive execution of the script.<sup>419</sup> McCarter describes the development of *mem* this way:

The old zigzag *mem* was formed by the incision of five straight strokes, drawn without lifting the writing instrument. (In the new form) . . . the writing instrument is drawn back from the forward extreme . . . but then it is lifted, and the vertical shaft is begun as a second stroke slightly above the first line, which it meets on the way down. . . . the vertical cross-bar is added as a final, separate stroke.<sup>420</sup>

This form of *mem* becomes dominate in the Phoenician script in the seventh century and later.<sup>421</sup>

Aramaic *mem* maintains a five-stroke zigzag shape throughout the early Iron Age. In the ninth century, Hebrew *mem*'s tail curls up at the end, and its head begins to lose its symmetrical zigzag shape and to be formed with two asymmetrical check marks.

**nun** – Phoenician *nun* undergoes no major development from the tenth-early seventh centuries. It has a three-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom tail stroke extends down, either straight

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<sup>417</sup> Note the extremely long and curved tail of *mem* (as well as *nun*, *pe* and *taw*) in the Kition bowl. Both this length and curvature are marks of the cursive script of this inscription (see note 395).

<sup>418</sup> Note also the slight curve of *mem*'s tail, which is likely a mark of cursive influence (cf. the tails of *kap*, *nun*, and *taw* in the Karatepe inscriptions; cf. the curved tails of *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, and *taw* in the Kition bowl). For the cursive characteristics of the Karatepe and Kition inscriptions, see note 395.

<sup>419</sup> Cf. the discussion of “lost cursive” in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>420</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 59.

<sup>421</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*. Note especially the examples of *mem* in the Praeneste Bowl (Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 124ff) and Paleo-Castro inscription (Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 15ff). See Peckham's script charts on pages 104-7.

or with slight curvature, and is somewhat longer than its upper two strokes.<sup>422</sup> This tail stroke continues to elongate throughout the ninth and eighth centuries. *Nun*’s stance is typically upright; and its middle stroke,<sup>423</sup> often referred to as its “shoulder,” goes straight across or angles slightly upward or downward. In the early Iron II period, Aramaic *mem* is formed like its Phoenician counterpart. In the ninth century, Hebrew *nun*’s tail curls up at the end, and its head begins to lose its symmetrical zigzag shape and to be formed with a single check mark that is attached to its tail stroke somewhat below the top.

***samek*** – Throughout the tenth-eighth centuries, *samek* occurs rarely in Phoenician inscriptions; consequently, it undergoes little development. It is formed with a tall vertical stroke,<sup>424</sup> crossed at the top by three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel, horizontal bars. The vertical stroke at times just pierces the top horizontal bar. From the ninth century it might exhibit slight counterclockwise rotation, though upright examples still occur frequently (some examples in the Kilamuwa stele).

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<sup>422</sup> When one compares the length of *nun*’s bottom stroke in the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions with its length in the eleventh-century Phoenician ‘Azarba’al spatula, it is clear that this stroke has begun to elongate in the Phoenician script by the tenth century.

Note the extremely long and curved tail of *nun* (as well as *mem*, *pe* and *taw*) in the Kition bowl. Both this length and curvature are marks of the cursive script of this inscription.

The tail of *nun* in the Karatepe inscriptions is slightly rounded, as are the tails of *kap*, *mem*, and *taw*. However, this roundness of tail is likely another example of the cursive features of the Karatepe script. For the cursive characteristics of the Karatepe and Kition inscriptions, see note 395.

<sup>423</sup> *Nun*’s middle stroke or “shoulder” goes straight across (‘Ahiram sarcophagus, Nora stone, Seville statuette, Carthage pendant), angles slightly down to the right (‘Ahiram sarcophagus; Yehimilk, Shipitba’al, Honeyman, and Karatepe inscriptions; Nora stone; Bosa fragment), or angles slightly up to the right (‘Eliba’al inscription [this might be occasioned by the possible counterclockwise rotation of *nun* in the ‘Eliba’al inscription, but as previously mentioned, the stance of letter forms in this inscription is often difficult to determine due to positioning of the inscription around the contours of the statue. See note 137, Ba’al Lebanon bowl, Malta stele [this might be occasioned by the slight counterclockwise rotation of *nun* in the Malta stele], Kition bowl).

Cross states that *nun* rotates in a clockwise direction in ninth-century Phoenician (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual,” 407 = *Leaves*, 58-59). While the shoulder of *nun* in the Honeyman inscription and at least one of the shoulders of *nun* in the Nora stone angle down to the right, I do not regard this as full clockwise rotation of the letter form.

<sup>424</sup> When one compares the length of *samek*’s vertical shaft in the ‘Ahiram sarcophagus with its length in the eleventh-century Phoenician ‘Azarba’al spatula, it is clear that *samek*’s shaft has begun to elongate in the Phoenician script by the tenth century (Rollston, “Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar,” 74, 79).

In the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions, *samek*, like *zayin* (and *taw*), has tick marks.<sup>425</sup> These ticks appear on the right side of *samek*'s three horizontal bars. Peckham says that these tick marks join the upper horizontal strokes to the lower ones and might anticipate the later breakdown of the head of Phoenician *samek* into three cross-lines joined by diagonals.<sup>426</sup> McCarter says that Peckham could be right about this anticipation or these ticks might have no typological significance.<sup>427</sup>

In the most recent complete palaeographic treatment of the Karatepe inscriptions, Röllig says that Peckham's opinion "is only based on photographs: the letter was executed without these 'ticks', which arise sometimes, due to a deeper incision of the stonecutter's chisel-stroke on the right side."<sup>428</sup> However, these ticks are an essential part of the letter—they appear consistently, not as stray or random marks, but marks intentionally made by the engraver. See the further discussion of ticks, especially in the Karatepe inscriptions, in the treatment of *zayin* above.

In the late ninth-early eighth century, Hebrew *samek* begins to develop beyond its Phoenician counterpart. It stands tall, towering above the scribal ceiling line, and its vertical shaft does not pierce its upper horizontal bars. Furthermore, cursive ticks appear on the right end of at least one or all three of these bars. During the eighth century, the vertical stroke of Aramaic *samek* also stops piercing its horizontal bars but *samek* does not rise above the scribal ceiling line and develops no ticks. Contemporary Phoenician *samek* does not penetrate the scribal guideline, its vertical shaft continues

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<sup>425</sup> One of the two *sameks* in the Ba'al Lebanon bowl might have a tick mark on the right side of its top horizontal stroke; however, it is not clear if the mark in question is a tick or a scratch.

<sup>426</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 161-63. His script chart is on pages 104-5.

<sup>427</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 60. His script chart is on pages 132-3.

<sup>428</sup> See Röllig's analysis in Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*, 78. He does not include the ticks in his drawings of *samek* on pages 80-81. However, as I state above in the discussion of *zayin* in the Karatepe inscriptions, any ticks should be included in a drawing or script chart of Karatepe's *samek*, as they are a real part of the letter's form.

to pierce its head until the seventh century, and, despite the anticipatory appearance in the Karatepe inscriptions, it does not typically exhibit ticks before the sixth century.<sup>429</sup>

**‘ayin** – The shape of Phoenician ‘ayin does not change in the tenth-ninth centuries. It has a round, circular shape<sup>430</sup> and is the size of or slightly smaller than most other letters.<sup>431</sup> In the eighth-early seventh centuries, it is still round and is consistently smaller than other letters.

During the eighth century, Aramaic ‘ayin’s head begins to open.<sup>432</sup> A similar change is anticipated in the cursive script of the Phoenician Kition bowl; in this inscription ‘ayin appears to have been made in a single rapid stroke, so that its circle does not completely close in all examples. Phoenician ‘ayin, however, does not consistently open until the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth centuries.<sup>433</sup> Hebrew ‘ayin begins to flatten on its top-left side during the ninth century.

**pe** – Phoenician *pe* is formed rather consistently throughout the tenth-early seventh centuries. It stands upright or rotated slightly clockwise.<sup>434</sup> It is almost an inverted image of *lamed*, having a

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<sup>429</sup> Though ticks do appear on *samek* in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions, this is atypical for Phoenician *samek* in this period. Cf. the discussions of anticipatory features and common developments/mutual influence in the Methodology chapter. For later examples of Phoenician *samek*, see the discussions on seventh-century Phoenician throughout Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*. Script charts appear on pages 105-07.

<sup>430</sup> Note the crude execution of ‘ayin in both the Ba‘al Lebanon bowl and the Carthage pendant. This is likely the result of the difficulty of inscribing in the metal medium of these inscriptions or of poor scribal execution. See notes 141, 143 and the note on *ʔet* above. Cf. the discussion of scribal media and aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>431</sup> Contra McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 38), I do not believe there are any sporadically dotted ‘ayins in the ‘Ahiiram sarcophagus. Though the final two ‘ayins on the short side of the inscription, do have dots within them, these dots are identical to the pock marks seen in the area surrounding these ‘ayins; furthermore, the rest of the ‘ayins in the inscription are undotted.

<sup>432</sup> The earliest example of this opening is anticipated in the late ninth—early eighth-century Amman Citadel inscription. One of its three examples is open at the top.

It should also be noted that the eighth-century cursive Phoenician Kition bowl has one example of ‘ayin that has begun to open. Peckham states that Phoenician ‘ayin opens at the top by the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century, and that this happens as a feature of the cursive script when ‘ayin is “drawn in two strokes, not in three or four as in the formal script” (*Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 164). The cursive Kition bowl was not extant when Peckham produced his study. Based on the Kition ‘ayin, it appears that Peckham is correct in that the opening of this letter is a feature of the cursive script; however, this opening is at least anticipated in the eighth century, when, in the Kition bowl, the letter is executed in a single stroke.

<sup>433</sup> For the development of ‘ayin in this period, see Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, especially 44-45, 66-69, 104-13.

<sup>434</sup> So also *waw*. Briquel-Chatonnet notes only the upright stance of *pe* (“Étude comparée, 7, cf. 25).

short fore-stroke that curves downward—either sharply or roundly<sup>435</sup>—into a longer diagonal tail.

The only exceptions to this are the more c-shaped examples in the tenth-century 'Ahiṣam sarcophagus.<sup>436</sup> Aramaic *pe* mirrors the Phoenician. Hebrew *pe*'s tail curls up at the end during the ninth century.

**šade** – In the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician *šade* is composed of a “z” that is attached by its top stroke to a vertical shaft on the left. In the tenth-first half of the ninth century, this vertical shaft extends above the top stroke of the “z,” but not below its bottom stroke (Yehimilk and 'Abiba'al inscriptions, Nora Stone). In the latter half of the ninth century, however, as seen in the Phoenician Kilamuwa stele, *šade*'s vertical shaft lengthens downward, and this elongation continues in Phoenician<sup>437</sup> inscriptions into the eighth century.<sup>438</sup>

In the tenth century, the stance of *šade*'s stance is not fixed. It is rotated clockwise in the Yehimilk inscription and stands upright in the 'Abiba'al inscription. During the ninth century, it undergoes counterclockwise rotation<sup>439</sup> and maintains this rotation into the early seventh century.

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<sup>435</sup> Briquel-Chatonnet argues that *pe* is more angular in the Hebrew script and rounder in Phoenician (“Étude comparée,” 7). Round and angular forms are found in both script traditions. Cf. the discussions of round/pointed features in 'alep, bet, dalet, yod, lamed, and resh, as well as the discussion of overly stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>436</sup> McCarter argues that the tail of Phoenician *pe* lengthens in the eighth century (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 60). However, Phoenician *pe* undergoes little development in the tenth-early seventh centuries. The only significant development that does occur is seen in the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions. In these inscriptions the tail of *pe*, though not exceedingly long, does show development in this series. Whereas the 'Ahiṣam sarcophagus *pe* is C-shaped and rather symmetrical, *pe* has lost this symmetrical shape in the other Byblian inscriptions—its tail stroke has lengthened, while its fore-stroke has remained short.

<sup>437</sup> Except in the Carthage pendant. Also, there is an idiosyncratic curve at the end of the vertical shaft in the Malta stele *šade*. Note the overall poor execution of this inscription. Cf. note 143 and the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>438</sup> Cross says that Phoenician *šade*'s vertical shaft does not lengthen before the eighth century (“Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel,” 14 = *Leaves*, 96). However, *šade*'s shaft is considerably long in the Kilamuwa stele. (As mentioned above, Cross believed the Kilamuwa stele was written in the Aramaic script.) McCarter states that *šade*'s “z” is more tightly coiled in the tenth than in the ninth centuries (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 38, 60). Likewise, Peckham believes that the size and shape of *šade*'s “z” has some typological significance, at least in the eighth century, as he states that the “*šade* of the gold pendant inscription (from Carthage) is typologically earlier (than the Karatepe inscriptions) with a very large and more elongated head” (*Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 167). However, the “z's” of all tenth—early seventh-century Phoenician inscriptions are virtually the same size (except for the small example in the Ba'al Lebanon bowl), and it is not the shape or size of the “z” that is typologically significant for *šade* but rather the length of its vertical shaft and its stance.

<sup>439</sup> McCarter does not note the counterclockwise rotation of *šade* until the eighth century (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 60-61).

Aramaic *šade* parallels Phoenician throughout the early Iron II period. Hebrew *šade* maintains a short vertical shaft and develops a tick on the right end of the bottom stroke of its z-shaped body in the late ninth-early eighth century.

*qop* – During the tenth century, Phoenician *qop* stands upright. It begins to rotate counterclockwise during the ninth century (Honeyman inscription, Tambourit amphora), though upright examples are still found in this period and into the eighth.

In the tenth-century Phoenician Yehimilk inscription, *qop*'s vertical shaft fully bisects its round head into two equal parts.<sup>440</sup> However, in the Shipitba'al inscription, *qop*'s vertical shaft does not pierce the head.<sup>441</sup> The head of ninth-century Phoenician *qop* is bisected equally, and its vertical stem begins to elongate slightly in this century and into the eighth (Honeyman inscription, Kilamuwa stele).

During the eighth century, Phoenician *qop* undergoes distinct change. Its head is no longer made with a single circular stroke, but with two separate strokes, and begins to break down into two distinct and somewhat disconnected sections (Seville statuette, Incirli stele, Karatepe inscriptions,<sup>442</sup> Malta stele). This development is likely driven by the cursive execution of the letter. McCarter describes it this way:

Previously *qop* was produced by drawing a circle and then adding a vertical stroke. In the Karatepe inscriptions, the two sides of the head are drawn separately. The right semi-circle is produced first, proceeding from bottom to top. Next, as a continuation of the same stroke, the vertical shaft is drawn down. Finally, the left semi-circle is added as a separate stroke . . . often, however, the head is now asymmetrical.<sup>443</sup>

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<sup>440</sup> This inscription has suffered badly from erosion. Consequently, the exact execution of *qop*'s head shape is somewhat difficult to ascertain.

<sup>441</sup> This form of *qop* is not attested in the Phoenician script later than the tenth century (cf. McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 38-39, 61; see also Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, throughout), except possibly in Kuntillet 'Ajrud 4.2 (written in Hebrew language and Phoenician script. See the discussion of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud materials written in Phoenician script in the excursus at the end of this chapter). It might be found in the 'Izbet Šarṭah inscription (Kochavi, "An Ostrakon of the Period of the Judges from 'Izbet Sartah," 1-13; Demsky, "A Proto-Canaanite Abecedary Dating from the Period of the Judges," 14-27; idem, "The 'Izbet Šarṭah Ostrakon Ten Years Later," 186-97; Naveh, "Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from 'Izbet Šarṭah," 31-35; Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions," 8-16 = *Leaves*, 220-27; Dotan, "New Light on the 'Izbet Sartah Ostrakon," 160-72).

<sup>442</sup> For the cursive characteristics of the Karatepe script, see note 395.

<sup>443</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 61. McCarter also states that the head of *qop* becomes smaller as the stem lengthens. I see no significant decrease.

This phenomenon is anticipated in the shape of the late ninth—early eighth-century Tambourit *qop*. Though its head is drawn with a single stroke, it does not completely connect to form a perfect circle. Aramaic *qop*'s head also breaks down in the eighth century, and it takes an S-shape. Hebrew *qop*'s head begins to break down in the ninth century. It begins to be formed in two semi-circles, and the bottom of its right stroke intersects its vertical shaft in a lower position than does the bottom of its left stroke. Also, Hebrew *qop*'s vertical shaft no longer fully divides its head but only partially traverses into the head space. By the late ninth-early eighth century, Hebrew *qop* begins to penetrate the ceiling line, and by the eighth century, its head begins to open.

**resh** – From the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician *resh* is composed of a vertical spine on the right, with a sharp or blunted triangular head on the left.<sup>444</sup> From the ninth century, *resh* seems to favor a counterclockwise stance, though upright examples occur (Nora stone, Ba'al Lebanon bowl), and some inscriptions have both upright and counterclockwise-rotated examples (Honeyman inscription, Kilamuwa stele, Karatepe inscriptions).

In the tenth century, *resh* is easily distinguishable from *dalet*, as *dalet* has no vertical stem. In the ninth century, *resh* is still differentiated from *dalet*, as *dalet*'s newly-developed stem is rather short. Throughout the ninth-eighth centuries; however, the stems of both *dalet* and *resh* grow, and *dalet*'s stem grows at a much faster rate. Consequently, during the eighth century, these letters are more difficult to tell apart (Seville statuette, Carthage pendant, Malta stele). The forms of both Aramaic and Hebrew *resh* parallel Phoenician *resh* throughout the early Iron II period.

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I differ with both McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 61, 132-33) and Peckham (*Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 106-7) regarding the shape of the head of *qop* in the Malta stele. They believe it has completely broken down and has lost much of its circular form, but I believe they have been led astray by extraneous marks on the inscription and that the head is intact.

<sup>444</sup> McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 39, 61-62) argues that the size of *resh*'s head and shape (pointedness or roundness) have particular typological significance. However, these types of variations are not typologically significant for *resh* in the tenth-early seventh centuries, as they occur not only in inscriptions from these different periods, but also within individual inscriptions. Note, for example, the variation in the heads of *resh* in the Honeyman inscription, Nora stone, Karatepe inscriptions, and Kition bowl. Cf. the discussions of round/pointed features in '*alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *yod*, *lamed*, and *pe*, as well as the discussion of overly stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter.

**shin** – In the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician *shin* is w-shaped, made up of four strokes which are typically equal in length.<sup>445</sup> It is typically smaller than most other letters and has an upright stance. Aramaic *shin* also has this form. During the ninth century, Hebrew *shin* begins to lose its symmetrical w-shape and to be made with two asymmetrical check marks.

**taw** – In the tenth-early seventh centuries, Phoenician *taw* is either +- or x-shaped. In the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, the ideal form is symmetrical, having two strokes of equal length. However, as mentioned above, in the Shipitba'al inscription, there is at least one example<sup>446</sup> of a +- shaped *taw* with a longer vertical stroke (the third *taw* in line four).<sup>447</sup>

The distinguishing mark of Phoenician *taw*'s development in the ninth century is downward elongation of either its right or vertical stroke<sup>448</sup> (the Honeyman inscription, one example in the Nora stone, Kilamuwa stele<sup>449</sup>). Furthermore, during the latter part of the ninth century, as exhibited by some examples in the Kilamuwa stele, the shorter horizontal stroke of +-shaped *taws* begins to

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<sup>445</sup> McCarter notes that in some inscriptions (Malta stele, one of the three *shins* in the Kition bowl) occasionally the two "v's" of *shin* are not connected and that this eventually results in the trident-form of Phoenician *shin* in the late seventh century (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 62).

<sup>446</sup> Cf. the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>447</sup> McCarter (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 39, 128-29; idem, "Paleographic Notes," 57) states that the "+- shaped *taw* shows no tendency to lengthen in the tenth century; he does not note the elongated form in the Shipitba'al inscription. Furthermore, he states that the "x-shaped" *taw* in the Yehimilk inscription "exhibits an inclination to lengthen the right foot." There is one example of *taw* in the Yehimilk inscription whose right foot is slightly elongated (line four); however, the typical form of *taw* in the Yehimilk inscription is a symmetrical "x." Furthermore, when the x-shaped *taw* eventually exhibits stem elongation, it is not its right foot that lengthens but its left one (Nora stone, Seville statuette, Karatepe inscriptions, Carthage pendant, Kition bowl).

<sup>448</sup> In 1971, Cross states that Phoenician *taw* does not develop a tail or elongated stroke until c.800/the beginning of the eighth century ("Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain," 193-94 = *Leaves*, 275). However in 1987, he says that Phoenician *taw* begins to lengthen its down-stroke at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the ninth century ("Oldest Phoenician Inscription," 70 = *Leaves*, 262). Yet, in 1995, he says "Phoenician *taw* retain(s) an 'X'-form . . . through the ninth century" ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 54, 58-59). As I demonstrate in this study, one of the strokes of Phoenician *taw* does indeed begin to elongate in the late tenth-early ninth century.

<sup>449</sup> The tail of *taw* in the Karatepe inscriptions is slightly rounded, as are the tails of *kap*, *mem*, and *nun*. However, this roundness of tail is likely another example of the cursive features of the Karatepe script. Note also the extremely long and curved tail of *taw* (as well as *mem*, *nun*, and *pe*) in the Kition bowl. Both this length and curvature are marks of the cursive script of this inscription. For the cursive characteristics of the Karatepe and Kition inscriptions, see note 395.



shorten even further on the left side. This phenomenon continues in the eighth century<sup>450</sup> (Incirli stele, Karatepe inscriptions<sup>451</sup>).

In the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions, *taw*, like *zayin* and *samek*, has a tick. This tick appears on the right side of *taw*'s shorter stroke. Peckham describes this as "a very short tick, at times no more than a downward dip in the crossline."<sup>452</sup> Röllig says that this tick "does not exist but is – similar to the same phenomenon seen in the crossbars of the *samek* – a consequence of the deeper incision of the stonecutter's chisel."<sup>453</sup> Röllig has, as with the ticks of *zayin* and *samek* in the Karatepe inscriptions, misunderstood this phenomenon. A fuller treatment of these ticks is found in the discussion of *zayin* above. The tick of *taw* in the Karatepe inscriptions is a good example of a letter characteristic that is a result of execution and anticipates a significant feature of the letter in a subsequent period. This tick becomes a common feature in formal Phoenician *taw* in the sixth century.<sup>454</sup> Aramaic *taw* follows the Phoenician during the early Iron II period. Hebrew *taw* maintains a compact, symmetrical x-form throughout the early Iron II period; it develops no ticks.

## Conclusion

In the above analysis, I have traced the development of the Phoenician script throughout the early Iron II period (tenth-eighth centuries). When comparing ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions to those from the tenth century, one sees the following changes: (1) *'alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *he*, *zayin*, *yod*,

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<sup>450</sup> Contra Athas, who describes the Iron Age Phoenician form of *taw* as equilateral (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 134).

<sup>451</sup> This is likely in conjunction with the eventual development of a tick on this stroke. This tick is discussed below. The left side of *taw*'s left stroke will continue to shorten in subsequent centuries until it disappears. (See Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, throughout. Helpful script charts are found on 44-45, 66-69, 104-13).

<sup>452</sup> Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 172. Note his script chart on pages 104-5.

<sup>453</sup> See Röllig's analysis in Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*, 79. Note his script charts on pages 80-81.

<sup>454</sup> Note, for example, the Ipsambul inscription (Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 127ff). So also McCarter, personal communication. Cf. idem, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 62; Cross, "Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain," 194 = *Leaves*, 275. See especially the discussion of *taw* in the Phoenician-script inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud in the excursus below. Also cf. the discussion of anticipatory forms and incipient features in the Methodology chapter.

*kap*, *mem*, *samek*, *šade*, *qop*, and *resh* exhibit counterclockwise rotation;<sup>455</sup> (2) *'alep*'s vertical shaft has elongated downward by the second half of the ninth century; (3) *dalet* has developed a stem; (4) *he*'s stem no longer extends above *he*'s top parallel bar, only below its bottom one, and this stem elongates in the second half of the ninth century; (5) the head of *waw* has changed from a symmetrical cup shape and has begun to take on the shape of an upside-down h, with a tendency toward clockwise rotation; (6) *kap* no longer has an upright, tailless, trident shape, but its three-pronged head now tilts in a counterclockwise direction, and its right prong has lengthened into a tail that slants from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction; (7) *lamed* penetrates the scribal ceiling line; (8) *mem*'s tail continues the elongation begun in the tenth century; (9) *šade*'s vertical shaft has elongated downward by the second half of the ninth century; and (10) *taw* continues the stem elongation begun in the tenth century, and the shorter horizontal stroke of +-shaped *taws* begins to shorten even further on the left side in the second half of the ninth century.

In the eighth century, the Phoenician script exhibits the following characteristics. (1) *'Alep*'s head begins to be made with more parallel and less oblique strokes and anticipates its eventual breakdown into two short, parallel lines in the seventh century. (2) *Dalet* is distinguished from *resh* with difficulty, as its stem has grown quite long. (3) *Zayin* has developed a z-shaped form alongside the I-shaped. (4) *Het* begins to break down; one or more of its parallel bars no longer touches its vertical shaft(s). (5) *Kap*'s head has broken down in a variety of ways; in the most standard form, its left prong has broken away from the rest of its head and has slid up its middle prong. (6) *Mem* begins to be made in three (versus five) strokes; its zigzag breaks down. Its head is made up of two strokes, a bent one which touches the tail stroke and another straight one which divides the bent stroke into two parts, by either just touching it or by piercing it completely through. (7) *Qop*'s head is no longer

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<sup>455</sup> Cross states that "This counterclockwise shift of stance is observed first of all in ninth-century Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic, in such letters as *'alep*, *he*, *het*, *samek*, *qop*, and *reš*. It is probably an earlier shift of stance, a new fashion, by chance not extant in the lapidary texts we possess, to judge from its distribution through the descendants of Linear Phoenician" ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual," 403 = *Leaves*, 57).

drawn in a single circular stroke, but with two separate strokes, and begins to break down into two distinct and somewhat disconnected sections.

## Historical Considerations

In the early Iron Age, the Phoenicians stood as chief heirs to Canaanite culture following the collapse of much of the larger Canaanite civilization at the end of the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 BCE).<sup>456</sup> The Phoenician city-states were a regional power center on the Lebanese coast, and no single capital dominated the others, though Tyre was particularly strong in the early Iron II period.<sup>457</sup> During this period the Phoenicians traded extensively and, thus, were a ubiquitous presence throughout the Levant and Mediterranean. Consequently, their cultural influence is seen in the material culture of these regions.<sup>458</sup> The epigraphic record alone is revelatory. Phoenician inscriptions have been recovered from across the Levant and Mediterranean.<sup>459</sup> Examples include the Tekke bowl from Crete;<sup>460</sup> the Honeyman inscription and Kition bowl from Cyprus; the Nora fragment,<sup>461</sup> Nora stone, and Bosa fragment from Sardinia; the 'Astarte statuette from Spain; the

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<sup>456</sup> McCarter says, Phoenician has "a more specific meaning. The Phoenicians were the segment of the larger Canaanite population of the Levant who had inhabited the northeast Mediterranean littoral from very early times. As the political developments of the Late Bronze Age led to the displacement or serious modification of Canaanite culture elsewhere in Syria and Palestine, Phoenician emerged as the last custodian of the ancient way" (*Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 29; "The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet," *BA* 37 [1974]: 54, 59-60).

<sup>457</sup> See McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 39-40. Cf. the discussion of the "Tyrian" script in Lipinski, "Phoenician in Anatolia," especially 115-16.

<sup>458</sup> P. M. M. G. Akkermans and G. M. Schwartz, *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (c.16,000-300 BC)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 2003), 386; Note the following articles by A. Mazar in *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* (B. B. Schmidt, ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007): "The Israelite Settlement," 96; "The Search for David and Solomon: An Archaeological Perspective," 136-37; "The Divided Monarchy: Comments on Some Archaeological Issues," 162-63.

<sup>459</sup> McCarter states "Though the mainstream Phoenician script was at home on the Lebanese littoral . . . it spread beyond the homeland at an early date, evidently as a by-product of Phoenician mercantile activity, and penetrated inland via the Jezreel—Beth-shan corridor while also expanding westward into the Mediterranean basin" (in Tappy et al., "An Abecedar," 30).

<sup>460</sup> *KAI* 291; M. Szymer, "L'inscription phénicienne de Tekke, près de Cnossos," *Kadmos* 18 (1979): 89-93.

<sup>461</sup> For the Nora fragment see note 245.

Malta stele; and the Kefar Veradim bowl and numerous other fragments from south Canaan.<sup>462</sup> Furthermore, the epigraphic record preserves an additional link between Phoenicia and Syria, as the Phoenician god Melqart is venerated in the Aramaic Bir-Hadad stele from Bureij.<sup>463</sup>

As part of their Canaanite inheritance, the Phoenicians received the linear alphabet, and it seems that they had a profound effect on the development of this alphabet toward the end of the Iron I period. As discussed in the Introduction, during the eleventh century, the Canaanite script became more standardized, in letter form, stance, and writing direction. In order for a distinct script tradition to take on such defining characteristics, there must be a homogenizing force at work. As the Phoenician city-states stood as the dominant Canaanite power center during that time, they are our best candidates for this homogenizing force. That is, it is the Phoenician scribal apparatus that is most likely responsible for influencing much of the standardization that took place in the Canaanite script during the eleventh century and that continued to influence the development of this script throughout the Levant into the tenth-eighth centuries. Therefore, from at least the (end of the) eleventh century, we may speak of a Phoenician script and may use this term to classify the scripts of those inscriptions which exhibit standardized linear alphabetic writing.<sup>464</sup>

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<sup>462</sup> See especially the chapter on tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan.

<sup>463</sup> This inscription is discussed in detail in the following chapter.

<sup>464</sup> The following scholars have discussed the role of the Phoenicians in the Levant during the early Iron Age, specifically with regard to the development of the Canaanite script. (This is discussed in more detail below in the chapter on tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan.) Cross states, "The term 'Early Linear Phoenician' was arbitrarily devised by the writer as a designation for the alphabet which emerged in the course of the eleventh century, and was used broadly in Syria-Palestine by various national groups, including the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, and the Israelites. The center of radiation for its innovations and style was in all likelihood the chief centers of Phoenician culture and trade . . . Certainly Phoenician influence is visible in other cultural spheres" ("Newly Found Inscriptions," 13-15 = *Leaves*, 226-27). He also says, "Earlier Proto-Canaanite was in use in Palestine, and the shift to Linear Phoenician was a matter of following fashion rather than taking up alphabetic writing for the first time" ("Early Alphabetic Scripts," 108 n.48 = *Leaves*, 339-40 n.51). Similarly, McCarter states, "It is generally acknowledged that Phoenician scribalism had a programmatic effect on the character of alphabetic literacy in the Levant (and beyond) in the early part of the first millennium BCE . . . Phoenician culture enjoyed high prestige at the beginning of the first millennium BCE, and Phoenician merchants took a leadership role in regional and international trade, so it is not surprising that Phoenician writing influenced inland scribal development. . . . In the words of Cross . . . 'Earlier Proto-Canaanite was in use in Palestine, and the shift to Linear Phoenician was a matter of following fashion rather than taking up alphabetic writing for the first time.' Rather than a 'shift to Linear Phoenician' in Palestine, I should prefer to speak of a regional script development profoundly influenced by Linear Phoenician" ("Paleographic Notes," 47-48, 48 n.6).

Furthermore, it seems that because the Phoenicians were omnipresent in the Levant, Phoenician, both script and language, took on an element of prestige (or at the very least convenience), as during the early Iron II period, it came to be used not only by Phoenicians but also by non-Phoenicians, especially kings, as a means of international communication, functioning as both a *lingua* and a *scripta franca*.<sup>465</sup> For example, the following royal inscriptions<sup>466</sup> were commissioned by Neo-Hittite kings in Syria and Anatolia and most are bilingual texts written in Phoenician (script and language) alongside Hieroglyphic Luwian: the aforementioned Kilamuwa stele,<sup>467</sup> as well as the Incirli stele,<sup>468</sup> Karatepe inscriptions, Çineköy sculpture,<sup>469</sup> Hassan-Beyli inscription,<sup>470</sup> Ivriz stele,<sup>471</sup>

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<sup>465</sup> J. Naveh states, Phoenician “was a relatively widespread commercial means of communication used by this people trading throughout the ancient world” (“The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan in the Iron Age,” in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* [J. H. Sanders, ed.; Garden City, N.J., 1970], 279 = *Studies*, 5; idem, *Early History*, 99). “In the tenth and ninth centuries B.C., the Phoenician language and script enjoyed a certain international status. . . . In the early first millennium B.C., Phoenician was a language of prestige” (*Early History*, 54). Likewise, Rollston says, “Because of Phoenician colonization and seafaring, the Phoenician script (and often language) began to be employed in numerous regions” (“Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” 77-78; see also idem, “The Use of the Phoenician Script During the Iron Age and The Rise of the Levantine National Scripts,” in *Writing and Literacy*, 19-46). He also refers to Phoenician as “an international, transregional script (and even language, at times)” and “the prestige script and language of that chronological horizon and region” (“Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” 78, cf. 72, 89; *Writing and Literacy*, 40). See similar remarks in I. Young, “The Languages of Ancient Sam’al,” in *MAARAV* 9 (2002): 93-105.

Cf. the adoption of the Phoenician script by various Mediterranean people-groups, most especially the Greeks (McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*; J. Naveh, “Some Semitic Epigraphical Considerations on the Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet,” *AJA* 77 [1973]: 1-8).

<sup>466</sup> Most of these texts were mentioned in the footnotes at the beginning of this chapter, for further reference, see pages 2-3.

<sup>467</sup> Note that King Kilamuwa’s stele, intended for publication communication, was written in Phoenician; however, his lesser-viewed votive inscription on the Kilamuwa scepter sheath was written in the local Aramaic dialect.

<sup>468</sup> This inscription is actually trilingual; it is also written in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform.

<sup>469</sup> The publishers of the Çineköy inscription state “cette nouvelle bilingue royale confirme tout à fait l’emploi du phénicien comme langue et écriture officielles du royaume de Qué au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle” (Tekoglu, Lemaire, Ipek, and Tosun, “La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy,” 1006).

<sup>470</sup> Lemaire remarks “le phénicien semble avoir joué le rôle de langue de culture dans le royaume de Qué aux IX<sup>e</sup>me et VII<sup>e</sup>me siècles” (“L’inscription phénicienne Hassan-Beyli reconsidérée,” 16).

<sup>471</sup> W. Röllig, when discussing these inscriptions, refers to Phoenician as “a *lingua franca*” (“Asia Minor as a Bridge Between East and West: *The Role of the Phoenicians and Aramaeans in the Transfer of Culture*,” in *Greece Between East and West: 10<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> Centuries B. C.: Papers of the Meeting at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, March 15-16th, 1990* [G. Kopcke and I. Tokumaru, eds.; Mainz, Rhine: Philipp von Zabern, 1992], 93-102). Cf. his comments regarding the Ivriz inscription in particular in Dinçol, “New Archaeological and Epigraphical Finds from Ivriz,” 125.

and Cebelireis Daği inscription.<sup>472</sup> Furthermore, the Phoenician script was also used in Syria by both Neo-Hittite and Aramaean kings to write inscriptions in the Aramaic language,<sup>473</sup> and it is these Aramaic inscriptions that I will examine in the next chapter. The Phoenician script was likewise employed in the southern Levant, for inscriptions written in the Hebrew language but in the Phoenician script were recovered from the Negev site of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud.<sup>474</sup> I treat these inscriptions in the following excursus. It is from this Phoenician script that the individual scripts of Hebrew and Aramaic emerge in the ninth and eighth centuries, respectively, and I will trace the development of these scripts in the following pages.

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<sup>472</sup> *KAI* 287; W. Röllig, “Zur phönizischen Inschrift von Cebelireis Daği,” in *D’Ougarit à Jérusalem, Recueil d’études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*. Orient et Méditerranée 2 (Paris: De Boccard, 2008), 51-56.

<sup>473</sup> Dupont-Sommer says “La survivance du phénicien comme langue écrite est due sans doute au prestige qu’exerça la culture cananéenne sur les envahisseurs araméens, durant les premiers siècles de leur installation” (“Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou,” 33).

<sup>474</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” 73-142. Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel state, “This might be a result of the Phoenician influence in Judah at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE....The adoption of the prestigious Phoenician script by foreigners is a well-known phenomenon, cf. the inscriptions of Kilamuwa and Azatiwada (*KAI*, Nos. 24-26)” (126).

## Excursus

### Phoenician Inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud

Five inscriptions written in Phoenician script<sup>475</sup> and Hebrew language<sup>476</sup> (Fig. 10) were recovered from the Negev site of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman) during excavations from 1975-1976, led Z. Meshel.<sup>477</sup> Kuntillet ‘Ajrud is a small, one-period site that was constructed around c.800 BCE, and occupied only from this time through the first half of the eighth century. Fifty other inscriptions written in Hebrew script and language were also recovered from ‘Ajrud during Meshel’s excavations. I will give a fuller treatment of this Hebrew epigraphic material, as well as of the site of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, in the chapter on Hebrew script.

All of the Phoenician-script inscriptions are cursive and were written in ink on plaster-covered walls (4.1-4.5). They, along with the Hebrew texts from the site, date palaeographically to the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century. They are extremely fragmentary, as the plaster had crumbled and fallen to the floor by the time that it was recovered during the excavations. I have included enough fragments in the analysis that follows to provide a representative sample of the inscriptional data, including at least one example of each letter form that occurs. Images of the

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<sup>475</sup> Ibid.

P. K. McCarter Jr. says the plaster texts are written in Phoenician script, but their language is Hebrew; while the pithoi texts are written in both Hebrew script and language (“Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* [P. Miller Jr., P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride, eds.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 138. See also the following articles by McCarter in *COS* 2, pages 171-73: “Kuntillet ‘Ajrud: The Two-Line Inscription [2.47C],” “Kuntillet ‘Ajrud: Plaster Wall Inscription [2.47D]”) and J. Renz, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*. Vols. I-III (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), Vol. I: *Die althebräischen Inschriften: Text und Kommentar*, pages 51, 57-59; cf. 47-64; Vol. III: *Texte und Tafeln*, Pls. II, 7-10; III, 1-5; IV, 1, 3; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 2005), *Kajr*, pages 277-98; S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 313-29; B. A. Mastin, “The Inscriptions Written on Plaster at Kuntillet ‘Ajrud,” *VT* 59 (2009): 99-115.

<sup>476</sup> These inscriptions are written in the Judahite dialect (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” 126).

<sup>477</sup> Z. Meshel, *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (Z. Meshel, ed.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012).

inscriptions, along with a bibliography of earlier studies, can be found in Meshel's publication volume.<sup>478</sup>

Kuntillet 'Ajrud 4.1 – Blessing (Fig. 11)<sup>479</sup>

Fragment 4.1.1

Transliteration:

1. [ ]rk . ymm . wyšb'ʔ<sup>480</sup> [ ]ʔ<sup>481</sup>tnw . l[ ]hwh [ ]t<sup>482</sup>ymn . wl'šrt[<sup>483</sup> ]
2. [ ] . hyt<sup>484</sup>b . yhwh . ʔ<sup>484</sup>ʔ<sup>485</sup>y[ ]y . hyʔ<sup>486</sup>b . ym[ ]hh[ ]yhʔ<sup>487</sup>[ ]

Translation:<sup>488</sup>

1. .... he prolong their days, and be satisfied ..... [Y]ahweh of Teman and to [his] *asherah* ...
2. .... Yahweh ..... has dealt favorably .....

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<sup>478</sup> The inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud have not been available for on-site study for quite some time. However, the images of the inscriptions published by Meshel are of high quality and allow for a palaeographic analysis of its script. The epigraphic and palaeographic analyses of the texts were conducted by S. Ahituv, E. Eshel, and Z. Meshel. Most of the drawings were done by N. Shechter and H. Kek (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "The Inscriptions," 73-142). Meshel's volume is the starting point for my study of the 'Ajrud inscriptions, because this is the first time all of the inscriptions have been published and with good images.

<sup>479</sup> I do not include every fragment of 4.1 in this chapter. However, I made every effort to include a representative sample of every letter form in this text.

<sup>480</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *waw* ("The Inscriptions," 105). This letter could be *gimel*, *waw*, or *resh*.

<sup>481</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *yod* ("The Inscriptions," 105). This letter could be *zayin* or *yod*; *yod* is the best choice in this context.

<sup>482</sup> This letter could be *kap*, *lamed*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *taw*. *Taw* is the best choice, on analogy with the other blessings found at Kuntillet 'Ajrud that are covered in this study.

<sup>483</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *he* here ("The Inscriptions," 105). The text breaks off after the *taw*.

<sup>484</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *he* ("The Inscriptions," 105). This letter could be *'alep*, *gimel*, *he*, or *resh*.

<sup>485</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *taw* ("The Inscriptions," 105). Palaeographically, I can offer no definitive reading.

<sup>486</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *ʔet* ("The Inscriptions," 105). Palaeographically, I can offer no definitive reading.

<sup>487</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *mem/nun* ("The Inscriptions," 105). This letter might also be a *waw*.

<sup>488</sup> This translation is based on that of McCarter, "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: The Two-Line Inscription [2.47C]," 172.



#### Fragment 4.1.4

Transliteration:

1. w<sup>489</sup> ʔ<sup>490</sup>

#### Fragment 4.1.6

Transliteration:

1. ʔ<sup>491</sup>
2. ʔh . b

#### Fragment 4.1.15

Transliteration:

1. ht

#### Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 4.2 – Religious Poem (Fig. 12)

Transliteration:

1. [ ] šnt [ ]
2. [ ] bʔ<sup>492</sup>š . wbʔ<sup>493</sup>rh . ʔl . bʔ<sup>494</sup>[ ] hw [ ]
3. [ ] ʔ<sup>495</sup> . w y m s ʔ<sup>496</sup> . h r m . w y r <sup>497</sup>kn . p <sup>498</sup>bnm [ ]

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<sup>489</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *nun* here (“The Inscriptions,” 107). This letter could be *nun*, but I believe it more closely resembles *waw*.

<sup>490</sup> This might be a *waw*, *kap*, *lamed*, *mem*, *nun*, *shin*, *taw*, or a word divider.

<sup>491</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *taw* here (“The Inscriptions,” 107). This letter might be *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, or *taw*.

<sup>492</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *resh* here (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This might be a *gimel*, *waw*, *šade*, *resh*, or a word divider.

<sup>493</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *zayin* here (“The Inscriptions,” 110). No letter can be read with certainty here.

<sup>494</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *resh* here (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *ʾalep*, *gimel*, *he*, *waw*, *samek*, *šade*, *qop*, or *resh*.

4. [            ]? <sup>499</sup>š . qšdš . ‘ly . <sup>1</sup>? <sup>500</sup>? <sup>501</sup> . ’?nw [            ]
5. [            ]?? <sup>502</sup>kn l <sup>503</sup>brk . b‘l . bym . ml? <sup>504</sup>[ <sup>505</sup>]hl <sup>506</sup>[            ]
6. [            ] lš <sup>507</sup>m ’l . bym . ml? <sup>508</sup>[            ]

Translation:<sup>509</sup>

1. ....second time/years.....
2. ....in [ea]rthquake. When El show[n] forth in.....
3. .... mountains mel[t]ed and peaks grew weak .....
4. ....ea[r]th.....
5. ....to bless Ba‘al on a day of .....
6. ....to the name of El on a day of .....

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<sup>495</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *resh* here (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *bet*, *dalet*, or *resh*.

<sup>496</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *nun* here (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *kap*, *mem*, or *nun*.

<sup>497</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *dalet* here (“The Inscriptions,” 110).

<sup>498</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read this *pe*; they reconstruct *gimel* (“The Inscriptions,” 110).

<sup>499</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *šade* (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *‘alep*, *gimel*, *he*, *waw*, *samek*, *šade*, *qop*, or *resh*.

<sup>500</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *mem* here and offer no readings for the end of this line past this letter (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, or *pe*.

<sup>501</sup> This letter might be *mem* or *nun*.

<sup>502</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *he* (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *he* or *yod*.

<sup>503</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read *lamed* as certain, though they reconstruct it (“The Inscriptions,” 110). *Lamed* is certainly there.

<sup>504</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *het* (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This letter might be *gimel*, *he*, *het*, *samek*, *qop*, or *resh*.

<sup>505</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *mem* (“The Inscriptions,” 110). This area is very damaged, and I cannot make out any definitive letter traces.

<sup>506</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read this letter (“The Inscriptions,” 110).

<sup>507</sup> There is an extraneous mark at the top of the left stroke of this *shin*. This might be a word divider or might simply be stray ink.

<sup>508</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *het* (“The Inscriptions,” 110). Only the corner of this letter remains, and I can read nothing with certainty here.

<sup>509</sup> This translation is based on that of McCarter, “Kuntillet ‘Ajrud: Plaster Wall Inscription [2.47D],” 173. See also, Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel (“The Inscriptions,” 110).

#### Kuntillet 'Ajrud 4.4.1 – Religious Fragment (Fig. 13)

Transliteration:

1. [            ]?[            ]
2. [            ] b'1 . bql [            ]
3. [            ]h?<sup>510</sup>,<sup>511</sup>y[            ]

Translation:

1. ....
2. ....Ba'al in voice.....
3. ....

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:

These inscriptions are particularly important for studies of Phoenician script typology, as, along with the Kition bowl, they provide our earliest substantial examples of Phoenician cursive. The script of these inscriptions is identified as Phoenician based especially on the letter forms of *waw*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, *qop*, *taw* and possibly *yod*.<sup>512</sup> The form of *he* is also noteworthy. (I have included 4.3 in the letter descriptions below. Though the published images of this faded and fragmentary inscription do not accommodate the production of a full drawing or script chart, some letters in the text can be seen clearly in these images and should be included in the following discussion.)

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<sup>510</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *nun* ("The Inscriptions," 117). This letter might be *mem* or *nun*.

<sup>511</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read this letter ("The Inscriptions," 117).

<sup>512</sup> Note the form of *shin*. Most examples are w-shaped and symmetrical (4.1.1, 4.2). However, in 4.2 there is at least one form that has broken down and lost its symmetry. The second stroke (moving from left to right) of the letter no longer meets the third stroke at its top. This is the form of *shin* found in many of the Hebrew-script inscriptions, and this is the way in which Hebrew *shin* develops in subsequent periods. Phoenician *shin* does not develop in this way. (Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.)

The following letters exhibit counterclockwise rotation, a feature that, as noted throughout this chapter, marks a change in the Phoenician script from the tenth to the ninth century: *'alep*, *bet*,<sup>513</sup> *dalet*, *he*, *yod*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *samek*, *qop*, and *resh*.<sup>514</sup> Also the stems/tails of the following letters are noticeably long, continuing the elongation seen earlier in the ninth century, most especially in the Kilamuwa stele: *'alep*, *dalet*, *he*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *samek*, *pe*, *šade*, *qop*, *resh*, and *taw*.

**He's spine is curved in some examples** (4.1.1, 4.2, 4.3), accentuating the cursive character of the script. This curvature is reminiscent of that seen in the Phoenician Kilamuwa inscription, and it is also seen in *he* in contemporary Hebrew and Aramaic inscriptions.

**Waw has the upside-down-h form** found in Phoenician inscriptions from this period (4.1.1, 4.2, 4.3). *Waw* in the Hebrew-script inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud is either cup-shaped or exhibits the more developed Hebrew form that is moving toward the *hamza*-headed type.<sup>515</sup>

**Yod is 2-shaped. It has no cursive tick on the right end of its bottom stroke** (4.1.1, 4.2, 4.4.1), as does *yod* in most of the Hebrew-script inscriptions from 'Ajrud.

**Kap's left prong has broken away from the rest of its head and has slid up its middle prong**—the standard form of Phoenician *kap* in the eighth-century. **Its tail does not curl up at the end** (4.1.1, 4.2). As mentioned above, the letter **exhibits counterclockwise rotation**. *Kap* in the Hebrew-script inscriptions stands upright. Its head is intact, and its tail curls up at the end.

**Mem, nun, and pe have very round cursive forms. Their tails do not curl up at the end** (4.1, 4.2), as do the tails of *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* in the Hebrew-script inscriptions.

**The head of qop is made in two strokes and has begun to breakdown into two distinct and somewhat disconnected sections** (4.3, 4.4.1; cf. *qop* in the Phoenician Seville statuette, Karatepe inscriptions, and Malta stele).<sup>516</sup> Though Hebrew *qop* undergoes a similar phenomenon in

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<sup>513</sup> Some upright examples are found in 4.1.6.

<sup>514</sup> Some upright examples are found in 4.1.1.

<sup>515</sup> This type is explained in full in the Hebrew-script chapter.

<sup>516</sup> The *qop* in 4.2 is damaged. I cannot determine if the vertical shaft pierces the head.

this period, all of the heads of *qop* in the Hebrew-script inscriptions from ‘Ajrud are made in the earlier one-stroke fashion and are formed with complete circles. Furthermore, some examples of *qop* in the Hebrew inscriptions have penetrated the ceiling line.

***Taw* is x- or +-shaped. One of its strokes has lengthened considerably, forming a tail. This tail does not curl up at the end (4.1, 4.2, 4.3). In some examples, *taw*’s shorter stroke has shortened considerably on the left side (4.1.1, 4.3) or has completely disappeared, and a tick has formed on the right side of this stroke (4.1.15).** This tick may be compared to that seen on *taw* in the Karatepe inscriptions. It is quite striking, as it provides a second example of this feature that anticipates the development of Phoenician *taw* in subsequent periods. As mentioned above, ticks become a more common feature of *taw* by the sixth century.<sup>517</sup> *Taw* in the Hebrew-script inscriptions has a more symmetrical x-shape.

Note that the scribe of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 4.1 wrote in an extremely cursive fashion. Therefore, he produced certain letter forms that are not typical of Phoenician script in the early Iron II period.<sup>518</sup> The heads of *bet* (4.1.6),<sup>519</sup> *tet* (4.1.1),<sup>520</sup> ‘*ayin* (4.1.1, 4.1.12),<sup>521</sup> and *resh* (4.1.1)<sup>522</sup> are open. *Tet* has

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<sup>517</sup> Cf. the discussion of anticipatory features in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>518</sup> Cf. the discussions of idiosyncrasies and random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>519</sup> The head of *bet* does not open in the Phoenician script series. Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>520</sup> This anticipates the form of *tet* that begins to appear in the seventh century. See Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, especially 105, 109, 179-89.

<sup>521</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel draw ‘*ayin* with a closed head (“The Inscriptions,” 126). It is open.

This, along with the one example of a slightly open ‘*ayin* in the cursive Kition bowl, anticipates the opening of Phoenician ‘*ayin* in the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth century. (See Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*, 164). Cf. ‘*ayin* in the Amman Citadel inscription in the Aramaic-script chapter, as well as the discussion of anticipatory forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>522</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel draw *resh* with a closed head (“The Inscriptions,” 126). It is open in this inscription. However, the head of *resh* does not open in the Phoenician script series. Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

completely lost its circular form, and no trace of its internal x/+ remains. It has more of a rounded-u shape. *He*'s horizontal bars (especially the top one) do not connect to its vertical stroke (4.1.1.).<sup>523</sup>

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<sup>523</sup> Though Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel note that “the nearly horizontal bars (of *he*) are disconnected from the down-stroke,” they do not represent the disconnection between the top horizontal and vertical stroke in their script chart (“The Inscriptions,” 109, 126). With regard to ductus, McCarter (personal communication) says it appears that the scribe begins to draw the vertical shaft at the second horizontal bar instead of at the first (the typical starting place).

## CHAPTER 4: Aramaic Script in the Early Iron II Period

In this chapter I establish a palaeographic typology of the Aramaic script in the early Iron II period by (1) comparing the earliest extant Aramaic inscriptions, which date to the late tenth-ninth centuries BCE, with Aramaic inscriptions from the eighth century, and (2) by comparing these early Aramaic inscriptions with inscriptions written in the other major Northwest Semitic script traditions of the Iron Age, namely Phoenician and Hebrew. I focus especially on the following ten inscriptions—eight formal and two cursive (Fig. 14).

The earliest known formal Aramaic text, the Gozan (Tell Halaf) pedestal, was lost, but good photographs and a plaster impression made from a squeeze of the inscription survive.<sup>524</sup> It came from a secure archaeological context dated to the late tenth-early ninth century. There are six formal Aramaic inscriptions securely dated to the ninth-early eighth centuries based on internal content and/or archaeological context: the Tel Dan stele, the four Hazael booty inscriptions (an ivory from Arslan Tash, an ivory from Nimrud, a horse nose plate from Samos, and a horse cheek plate from Eretria), and the Kilamuwa scepter sheath.<sup>525</sup> The formal Bir-Hadad Melqart (Bureij) stele is dated palaeographically to the late ninth-early eighth century, as its script fits well between the scripts of

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<sup>524</sup> Note also an inscribed pottery fragment that was found at Tal al-Humira near Damascus in 2011. The excavators have associated it preliminarily with archaeological levels dated between 2000-1000 BCE (R. Raslan, "Deir Attiya Discoveries," n.p. [cited 9 August 2011]. Online: [www.sana.sy/eng/35/2011/08/09/363013.htm](http://www.sana.sy/eng/35/2011/08/09/363013.htm)). The fragment remains unpublished.

<sup>525</sup> I will not discuss the ninth-century, monumental Tell Fakhariyah stele (*KAI* 309; J. A. Fitzmyer and S. A. Kaufman, *An Aramaic Bibliography: Old, Official, and Biblical Aramaic* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1992], 36-37, B.2.2) in this chapter. Its Northwest Semitic script is not the standard script employed in Aramaic inscriptions during the ninth century but is an archaizing script that resembles the Canaanite script of the eleventh century. For further discussion see especially F. M. Cross, Jr., "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyah Bilingual Inscription," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphical, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995), 393-409 = idem, *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*. Harvard Semitic Studies 51 (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 51-60; S. A. Kaufman, "Reflections on the Assyrian-Aramaic Bilingual from Tell Fakhariyah," *MAARAV* 3 (1982): 137-75; J. Naveh, "Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek, and the Script of the Tell Fakhariyah Statue," in *Ancient Israelite Religion* (1987), 101-13 = *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2009), 92-104; idem, *Early History of the Alphabet* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; 1987; repr., 1997), 214-17; and most recently, C. A. Rollston, "The Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Phoenician Inscriptions: A Response to Benjamin Sass," *MAARAV* 15.1 (2008): 88-91; idem, *Writing and Literacy in the World of Ancient Israel: Epigraphic Evidence from the Iron Age* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010), 37-39. Rollston demonstrates that the Tell Fakhariyah scribe's "triumph of archaism" (Cross, "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyah Bilingual," 409 = *Leaves*, 60) was not a complete victory.

those Aramaic inscriptions securely dated to the late tenth-ninth centuries and those securely dated to the eighth century. There are two fragmentary cursive ninth—early eighth-century inscriptions: the ‘Ein Gev jar and the Tel Dan bowl. Both come from secure archaeological contexts and are dated by that context or by their pottery type. In this chapter I also treat the formal Amman Citadel inscription (Figs., 15, 28), which dates palaeographically to the ninth-early eighth century. Although this inscription is written in the Ammonite language, the Ammonite scribal tradition in that period was influenced by and employed the script used in the Aramaean city-states.<sup>526</sup>

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<sup>526</sup> See especially É. Puech and A. Rofé, “Inscription de la citadelle d’Amman,” *RB* 80 (1973): 544; A. Lemaire, “Ammon, Moab, Edom: l’époque du fer en Jordanie,” in *La Jordanie, de l’âge de la pierre à l’époque byzantine* (Paris: Recontres de l’école du Louvre, 1987), 47-53; G. van der Kooij, “The Identity of Trans-Jordanian Alphabetic Writing in the Iron Age,” *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 (1987): 111.

For a discussion regarding the development of Ammonite script, see the thorough summary in W. Aufrecht, *A Corpus of Ammonite Inscriptions*. Ancient Near Eastern Texts and Studies 4 (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1989), xviii-xxiii; idem, “Ammonite Texts and Language,” in *Ancient Ammon* (1999), 163-88. (Note also the discussion in L. G. Herr, “The Formal Scripts of Iron Age Transjordan,” *BASOR* 238 [1980]: 21-34; É. Puech, “L’inscription de la statue d’Amman et la paléographie ammonite,” *RB* [1985]: 5-24).

There are two basic schools of thought. Cross believes the script of the Amman Citadel inscription is lapidary Aramaic and dates to the mid-ninth century BCE. He argues that the Ammonite script became independent from the Aramaic script in the mid-eighth century, and, thereafter, developed more slowly than the parent Aramaic. Ammonite ceased to exist in the late sixth century BCE, when it was replaced by the Aramaic script of the Persian Empire. See F. M. Cross, Jr., “Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” *BASOR* 193 (1969): 13-19 = *Leaves*, 95-99; idem, “An Ostrakon from Heshbon,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 7 (1969): 223-29; idem, “An Ostrakon from Hesbon,” in *Hesbon 1968. The First Campaign to Tell Hesbān. A Preliminary Report* (R. S. Boraas and S. H. Horn, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 1969), 223-29; idem, “The Stele Dedicated to Melqart by Ben-Hadad of Damascus,” in *Leaves*, 173-77; idem, Heshbon Ostrakon II,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 11 (1973): 126-31; idem, “Notes on the Ammonite Inscription from Tell Sīrān,” *BASOR* 12 (1973): 12-15 = *Leaves*, 100-102; idem, “Ammonite Ostraca from Hesbon, Hesbon Ostraca IV-VIII,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 13 (1975): 1-22; idem, “Hesbon Ostraca XI,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 14 (1976): 145-48; idem, “An Unpublished Ammonite Ostrakon from Hesbān,” in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies Presented to Siegfried H. Horn* (L. Geraty and L. G. Herr, eds.; Berrien Springs: Andrews University, 1986), 475-89; idem, “Ammonite Ostraca from Tell Hisbān,” in *Small Finds: Studies of Bone, Iron, Glass, Figurines, and Stone Objects from Tell Hesban and Vicinity*. Hesban 12 (P. J. Ray, Jr., ed.; Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University/Institute of Archaeology, 2009), 29-56 = *Leaves*, 70-94. He is especially followed by L. G. Herr, *The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* (Missoula, Mich.: 1978); idem, “The Formal Scripts,” 21-34; idem, “The Palaeography of West Semitic Stamp Seals,” *BASOR* 312 (1998): 45-77; J. Hackett, *The Balaam Text from Deir ‘Allā* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars, 1984); K. P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age*. HSM 27 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983).

Naveh does not believe that the Ammonites ever developed their own distinct script. He says that the Ammonites seem to have adopted the Phoenician-Aramaic script sometime during the ninth century from the Aramaeans (in Damascus), and they continued to follow the Aramaic scribal tradition as employed in the Assyrian empire. See J. Naveh, “The Scripts of Two Ostraca from Elath,” *BASOR* 183 (1966): 28-30, 30 n.28 = *Studies*, 310-12, 312 n.28; idem, “The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan in the Iron Age,” in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (J. H. Sanders, ed.; Garden City, N.J., 1970), 280 = *Studies*, 6; idem, “Hebrew Texts in Aramaic Scripts in the Persian Period?,” *BASOR* 203 (1971): 28; idem, *Early History*, 107-11; A. Biran and J. Naveh, “An Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan,” *IEJ* 43 (1993): 95 n.24; cf. J. Naveh, *The Development of the Aramaic Script* (Jerusalem, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970), 66-67.



First, I compare the aforementioned ten inscriptions with the securely-dated eighth-century formal and cursive Aramaic inscriptions. The formal inscriptions are (Fig. 16):<sup>527</sup> the Zakkur stele,<sup>528</sup> the Sefire treaty inscriptions,<sup>529</sup> the Hadad (Panamuwa I) statue,<sup>530</sup> the Panamuwa II statue,<sup>531</sup> the

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<sup>527</sup> Note also the Arslan Tash trilingual inscription. This inscription is located on lion gates recovered from Arslan Tash (ancient Hadatu) and is written in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform, Hieroglyphic Luwian, and alphabetic Aramaic. Its content requires an early eighth-century date, as it was written by an Assyrian provincial official, Ninurta-bel-ušur, a subordinate of the powerful Assyrian *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu. Unfortunately, the quality of the published photographs does not allow for palaeographic analysis, and I have not yet been able to collate this inscription personally. See especially K. L. Younger, “Some of What’s New in Old Aramaic Epigraphy,” *NEA* 70 (2007): 142; H. D. Galter, “Militärgrenze und Euphrathandel. Der sozio-ökonomische Hintergrund der Trilinguen von Arslan Tash,” in *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World: Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction* (R. Rollinger and Ch. Ulf. Melammu, eds.; Stuttgart: Steiner, 2004), 444-60.

The mortuary stele from Ördek-Burnu should most likely be included in this discussion. It was taken by F. von Luschan to the Istanbul Archaeological Museum in 1888 (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 4 [Berlin: Georg Reimer, 1911], 328-29, fig. 239. See also M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische epigraphik*. Vol. 3 [Giessen: J. Ricker, 1915], 192-206, Pls. XII-XV). Before being taken to the museum it had been used for quite some time by the local people as a surface for making felt. Unfortunately, the inscription is badly effaced. It was most recently published by A. Lemaire and B. Sass, and this is the first time high-quality images sufficient enough for palaeographic analysis on any level have ever been published (“The Mortuary Stele with Sam’alian Inscription from Ördekburnu near Zincirli,” *BASOR* 369 [2013]: 57-136; idem, “La stèle d’Ördekburnu: vers la solution d’une énigme de l’épigraphie ouest-sémitique,” *CRAI* I [2012]: 227-41. See also Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 333, Ap.1). Unfortunately, however, the publication appeared just as my dissertation was being prepared for submission and defense, and I was unable to include the stele in this palaeographic study. Based upon my preliminary analysis of the stele’s script, however, I do not believe that the conclusions I have drawn in this study would be altered in any way by the inclusion of this inscription.

<sup>528</sup> *KAI* 202; Gibson II:5. The Zakkur stele was discovered in 1903 in Tell Afis (ancient Hazrak) and is now in the Louvre Museum in Paris. Zakkur was the king of Hamath and Luash and reigned shortly after Irhuleni of Hamath, who joined Hadad-’idri of Damascus in the Syrian coalitions against Shalmaneser III of Assyria (858-824) during the ninth century. The content of Zakkur’s inscription, which describes the siege of Hamath by another coalition of various Syrian kings, led by Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael, points to an early eighth century date. The text also dates palaeographically to this period. For further bibliography see especially, Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 13-14, B.1.6.

<sup>529</sup> *KAI* 222-224; Gibson II:7-9. Sefire I and II were found around 1920. They were in the hands of an antiquities dealer in 1930 and were acquired by the Damascus Museum in 1948. Sefire III was acquired by the Beirut Museum in 1958. All date palaeographically to the first half—mid-eighth century BCE. Furthermore, their content narrows their dating, as they mention Mati’el, king of Arpad, the principal city of the Neo-Hittite state of Bit-Agusi. Mati’el is known from Akkadian texts as a contemporary of Assur-nirari V of Assyria (754-45), with whom he made a treaty in 754/3 BCE. Additionally, the Sefire inscriptions depict a somewhat independent Arpad, whose autonomy was lost to Assyria in c.740 BCE. For further discussion and bibliography see especially, P. K. McCarter Jr., *Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* (Washington D. C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1994), 94-95; Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 17-19, B.1.11.

<sup>530</sup> *KAI* 214; Gibson II:13. The statue of Hadad erected by Panamuwa I of Sam’al was found in a village northeast of modern Zincirli. (As mentioned in the Phoenician chapter, Zincirli was the capital of the ancient state of Sam’al. Its culture exhibits a blend of Neo-Hittite, Luwian, and Aramaean influences.) It is now in the Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum. Its inscription is written in Sam’alian Aramaic and dates palaeographically to the first half of the eighth century BCE. Though the text contains no historical information, its lack of reference to external political trouble suggests a date in the first half of the eighth century. For further bibliography see especially, Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 15-16, B.1.9.

<sup>531</sup> *KAI* 215; Gibson II:14. The statue erected by Bar-Rakib of Sam’al for his father Panamuwa II was discovered near Zincirli in 1888, and is now in the Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum. It proclaims the loyalty of both Panamuwa II and of Bar-Rakib to Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (744-727 BCE), and should be dated to sometime around 730 BCE, as Bar-Rakib took the throne, with Tiglath-pileser’s help, at that time. The inscription, written in Sam’alian Aramaic, dates palaeographically to the second half of the eighth century. For further bibliography see especially, Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 16-17, B.1.10.

Kitamuwa mortuary stele,<sup>532</sup> and the Bar-Rakib inscriptions and silver bars.<sup>533</sup> The cursive inscriptions are (Fig. 17): the Hamath bricks graffiti<sup>534</sup> and the Nimrud (Nineveh) lion weights.<sup>535</sup> I

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<sup>532</sup> The Kitamuwa basalt stele was discovered during the 2008 excavations at Zincirli, led by J. D. Schloen of the University of Chicago. It was found complete and *in situ*, set against the wall in the corner of a small room. This room was located in the lower mound of the site, which the excavators date to the ninth-seventh centuries BCE. The stele's date is further narrowed to the eighth century by its mention of King Panamuwa and to the second half of the eighth century by palaeographical analysis (cf. especially the Panamuwa II statue and the Bar-Rakib inscriptions). Its inscription is written in Sam'alian Aramaic. See especially, J. D. Schloen and A. Fink, "New Excavations at Zincirli Höyük in Turkey (Ancient Sam'al) and the Discovery of an Inscribed Mortuary Stele," *BASOR* 356 (2009): 1-13; E. Struble and V. Rimmer Herrman, "An Eternal Feast at Sam'al: The New Iron Age Mortuary Stele from Zincirli in Context," *BASOR* 356 (2009): 15-49; D. Pardee, "A New Aramaic Inscription from Zincirli," *BASOR* 356 (2009): 51-71.

<sup>533</sup> At least eight extant inscriptions, in addition to the Panamuwa II statue, may be attributed to Bar-Rakib of Sam'al. Bar-Rakib I (*KAI* 216; Gibson II:15), a stone orthostat, was found in Zincirli excavations in 1891 and is located in the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities. The Berlin Vorderasiatisches Museum houses the other Bar-Rakib inscriptions. Bar-Rakib II (*KAI* 217; Gibson II:16), III (*KAI* 218; Gibson II:17), IV (*KAI* 219), V (*KAI* 220), and VIII (*KAI* 221) are fragmentary orthostats, which were also recovered during excavations at Zincirli in 1891. Bar-Rakib VI is the number assigned to three different inscribed silver bars. Bar-Rakib VII is a seal. (Bar-Rakib VI and VII are published in F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, Die Kleinfunde von Sendschirli [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1943], 73-74, Pl. 38; 119-122, Pl. 58). These inscriptions are written in Sam'alian Aramaic and date palaeographically to the second half of the eighth century BCE. This date is confirmed by their content, as Bar-Rakib's stele I proclaims his loyalty to Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria, who secured his ascension to the throne of Sam'al around 730 BCE. For further discussion and bibliography see especially, McCarter, *Ancient Inscriptions*, 95-96; Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 20-21, B.1.14. Because Bar-Rakib VII is a seal, I do not treat it in this study. The scripts of seals often have their own particularities, and, therefore, seals are best studied alongside other seals (cf. the discussion of seals in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>534</sup> *KAI* 203-213; Gibson II:6. At least fifty inscribed bricks and three ostraca were discovered in the Danish expedition to Hamath from 1931-1938. They were found in level E, which the excavators date to the ninth-eighth centuries, and are now located in the Damascus Museum. They are inscribed with various cursive graffiti, most of which are personal names. Due to their nature as graffiti, some of the inscriptions contain idiosyncratic letter forms; however, most contain standard letter forms, and because of the similarities between their script and the script of the securely-dated Nimrud lion weights, which are discussed below, an eighth-century palaeographic date is assigned to them. H. Ingholt published a portion of the bricks, along with images of five of them, in 1940 (*Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie [1932-1938]* [Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1940], 115-18, Pls. XXXIX, no. 1-5). All bricks and ostraca were published in the Hamath excavation reports (B. Otzen, "Appendix 2: The Aramaic Inscriptions," in *Hama: Fouilles et recherches de la fondation Carlsberg, 1931-1938*. Vol. II.2, Les objets de la période dite syro-hittite [âge du fer] [P. J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, eds.; Copenhagen: Nationalmuseet, 1990], 266-317). For further discussion and bibliography see Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 13, B.1.5. In this study, I use Otzen's numbering system for the Hamath bricks and ostraca.

<sup>535</sup> 16 lion-shaped weights (*CIS* II, #1-14) were found in Nimrud during Layard's excavations in 1853. When Layard excavated the site, he thought Nimrud was the site of Nineveh, following H. C. Rawlinson. The designation "Nineveh lion weights" is found in much of the literature discussing these items. They are now in the British Museum. 14 of the 16 bear Aramaic inscriptions; 13 of the 16 bear Akkadian cuneiform inscriptions. The Aramaic inscriptions date palaeographically to the second half of the eighth BCE. This date is confirmed by the Akkadian inscriptions, which mention Assyrian kings who reigned during that period: Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BCE), Shalmaneser V (726 to 722), and Sargon II (721-705), as well as Sennacherib (704-681), whose reign also extended into the early seventh century. Note that only Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #10 is associated with Sennacherib and that only *CIS* II, #1 and #14 do not bear the names of Assyrian kings. These three weights are still associated securely with the eighth century, because of the similarities between their script and the script of the rest of the lion weights. For further discussion and bibliography, see Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 37, B.2.4. See also T. C. Mitchell, "The Bronze Lion Weights from Nimrud," in *Res Orientales* 2 (1990): 129-38; F. M. Fales, "Assyro-Aramaica: The Assyrian Lion-Weights," in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipiński* (K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors, eds.; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Orientalistiek, 1995), 129-38. Fales follows the *CIS* II numbering system, except he reverses numbers 8 and 9. Mitchell uses a different numbering system for the weights. In this chapter I have followed the *CIS* II numbering system.

then compare all of these early Aramaic epigraphs with the contemporary Phoenician inscriptions that I discussed in chapter 3, and with the contemporary Hebrew-script inscriptions that I will discuss in full in chapter 6.

In the following analysis, I will demonstrate that in the late tenth-ninth centuries, Aramaic scribes employed the Phoenician script. However, by the eighth century, a distinct Aramaic script emerged, and this script is best identified in the Aramaic cursive inscriptions, though some distinct Aramaic letter features can also be discerned in the formal texts.

## **The Formal Corpus**

### **The Gozan (Tell Halaf) Pedestal (Fig. 18)**

The Gozan (Tell Halaf) pedestal inscription (*KAI* 231, Gibson II:10) was discovered in 1931, at Tell Halaf (ancient Gozan), capital of the small Aramaean state of Bit Bahiani. It was found during the excavations conducted by M. von Oppenheim, in the Kapara levels of the site, which are dated to the late tenth-early ninth century.<sup>536</sup> It is the earliest known Aramaic inscription and was originally housed in the Tell Halaf Museum in Berlin but was destroyed along with the museum during World War II.<sup>537</sup> Only photographs and a plaster impression made from a squeeze of the inscription remain.<sup>538</sup>

The limestone pedestal was in fragmentary condition when found. What remained measured 11 cm high by 7.5 cm wide. The inscription was incised on three sides of its base; it referred to some

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<sup>536</sup> B. Hrouda, "Halaf, Tell," *RLA* 4 (1972-75): 54; M. von Oppenheim, *Der Tell Halaf: Eine neue Kultur im ältesten Mesopotamien* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1931); idem, *Tell Halaf*. Vols. 1-4 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1943-62). See also W. F. Albright Jr., "The Date of the Kapara Period at Gozan (Tell Halaf)," *Anatolian Studies* 6 (1956): 78-85; I. Winter, "North Syrian Ivories and Tell Halaf Reliefs: The Impact of Luxury Goods upon 'Major' Arts," in *Essays in Ancient Civilization Presented to Helen J. Kantor: Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization* 47 (A. Leonard, Jr., and B. B. Williams, eds.; Chicago, Oriental Institute 1989): 321-32, Pls. 62-66; B. Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium. The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE: The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, The Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, 2005), 93-95.

<sup>537</sup> Gibson II:10; Cross, "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḡariyeh Bilingual," 393-409 = *Leaves*, 51-60.

<sup>538</sup> These were found in 1986. See V. G. Dankwarth and Ch. Müller, "Zur altaramäischen 'Altar'-Inscript vom Tel Halaf," *Archiv für Orientforschung* 35 (1988): 73-78.

type of image. The script of this inscription is Phoenician and dates paleographically to the late tenth—early ninth-century.<sup>539</sup> The piece was published by J. Friedrich in 1940.<sup>540</sup> For further bibliography and photographs, see V. G. Dankwarth and Ch. Müller.<sup>541</sup>

Transliteration:

1.       zd<sup>542</sup>m<sup>543</sup>t | b<sup>544</sup>m<sup>545</sup>γ<sup>546</sup>
2.       |<sup>547</sup>zy | k<sup>548</sup> [ <sup>549</sup> ]

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<sup>539</sup> KAI (231) dates this inscription to the tenth-ninth centuries. Gibson (II:10) and Cross (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual,” 393-409 = *Leaves*, 51-60) allow for a date from the late tenth-early ninth century. Likewise, B. L. Haines dates the text to c.900 BCE (“A Paleographical Study of Aramaic Inscriptions Antedating 500 B.C.” [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966], 47). Albright prefers an early ninth-century date (“The Date of the Kapara Period,” 78-85), while Dankwarth and Müller date the inscription from the early to mid-ninth century (“Zur altaramäischen ‘Altar’-Inscript,” 73-78). G. R. Driver dates it to c.850 or “a little before” (*Semitic Writing: From Pictograph to Alphabet* [3<sup>rd</sup> rev. ed.; London: Oxford University, 1976], 119-20). R. Dussaud states that it predates Adad-Nirari III (810-783) (review of J. Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf, Syria* 23.1/2 [1942-1943]: 106-08). R. A. Bowman dates the text to the second half of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century (“The Old Aramaic Alphabet at Tell Halaf: The Date of the ‘Altar’ Inscription,” *AJSL* 58.4 [1941]: 359-67).

<sup>540</sup> J. Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf: Keilschrifttexte und aramäische Urkunden aus einer assyrischen Provinzhauptstadt* (Berlin: Imselfstverlage des herausgebers, 1940), 68-70, Taf. 29.

<sup>541</sup> Dankwarth and Müller, “Zur altaramäischen ‘Altar’-Inscript,” 73-78. For bibliography see also Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 36, B.2.1.

<sup>542</sup> The following read *bet*: Bowman, “The Old Aramaic Alphabet,” 360; G. Garbini, review of J. J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie. Ausgewählte Texte (Inschriften, Ostraka und Papyri) bis zum 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. Für Studium der aramäischen Sprache*. I. Teil. Einleitung, Literature und Kommentare. II. Teil. Aramäische Texte in Umschrift, *OA* 4 (1965): 44.

<sup>543</sup> Bowman (“The Old Aramaic Alphabet,” 360) and Gibson (II:10, p.57) read *yod*. Dussaud (review of Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften*, 108) and Albright (“The Date of the Kapara Period,” 82) read *nun*. Garbini (review of Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, 144) reads *het*.

<sup>544</sup> Bowman (“The Old Aramaic Alphabet,” 360) and Gibson (II:10, p.57) read *kap*. E. Lipiński (“The Inscription on the Pedestal from Tell Ḥalaf,” in *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics* II [Leuven: Peeters, 1994], 15) reads *pe*.

<sup>545</sup> Bowman (“The Old Aramaic Alphabet,” 360) and Gibson (II:10, p.57) read *yod*. The following read *lamed*: Dussaud, review of Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften*, 108; Albright, “The Date of the Kapara Period,” 82; Garbini, review of Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie*, 44; Attardo, “Utilità della paleografia,” 125.

<sup>546</sup> Dussaud reads *nun* (review of Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften*, 108). There is a trace of a letter here, but I cannot identify it.

<sup>547</sup> Dussaud does not read this word divider (review of Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften*, 108).

<sup>548</sup> Albright does not read this *kap* (“The Date of the Kapara Period,” 82).

<sup>549</sup> Albright seems to have read this as a *bet* (“The Date of the Kapara Period,” 82); Dankwarth and Müller suggest *zayin* (Zur altaramäischen ‘Altar’-Inscript,” 77). Cross reads *nun* (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh

3.      ḥ<sup>550</sup>y [ ]

Translation:<sup>551</sup>

1.      This is the image of B‘M?,
2.      which K...
3.      ḤY...

Significant Palaeographic Features:

As the Gozan pedestal is the earliest known Aramaic inscription, it has particular importance for the study of the development of Aramaic writing. In order to make a palaeographic assessment of this text, it is necessary to consider various aspects of its script. First, comparison of its script with contemporary Phoenician inscriptions demonstrates that the Aramaeans employed the Phoenician writing tradition during the late tenth-early ninth centuries. For example, the Gozan pedestal script has an overall upright stance, but some of its letters have begun to rotate in a counterclockwise direction: *het*, *yod*, *kap*, and *mem*. This counterclockwise rotation of letter forms continues in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions throughout the early Iron II period. Second, though the script of this inscription is a formal script, there are some minor inconsistencies in the size and shape of various letters, especially when comparing one side of the pedestal to another. However, none of these inconsistencies have particular palaeographic significance.<sup>552</sup> Finally, the forms of *dalet*, *zayin*, *kap*, *mem*, and *taw* in this inscription are important for dating the text.<sup>553</sup>

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Bilingual,” 397, 405 = *Leaves*, 53, 59). Lipiński reads *lamed* (“The Inscription on the Pedestal,” 15). No certain letter can be identified in this space.

<sup>550</sup> The 2002 edition of *KAI* 232 reads an *‘alep* between the *he* and *yod* (58); however, the 1964 edition does not (46).

<sup>551</sup> This translation is based on that of Dankwarth and Müller (“Zur altaramäischen ‘Altar’-Inscript,” 73-78).

<sup>552</sup> Cf. the discussion of an acceptable range of variance in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>553</sup> Also note the following. These scholars draw *het* in this inscription with two bars: Friedrich et al., *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf*, 68-70, Taf. 29; Bowman, “The Old Aramaic Alphabet,” 361; Dankwarth and Müller, “Zur

***Dalet* has no stem.** Phoenician *dalet* first develops a stem in the late tenth-early ninth century, as seen in the cursive Phoenician ‘Abda sherd and in all ninth-century *dalets* in both Phoenician and Aramaic texts.

***Zayin* is I-shaped,** a form of *zayin* that is seen both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from the tenth-eighth centuries. Over the course of the second half of the ninth-eighth centuries, *zayin* begins to change from an I- to a z-shape.

***Kap* has a three-pronged head, and this head’s middle prong splits equally the distance between its left and right prongs,** as in tenth-century Phoenician trident-shaped *kaps*. However, unlike tenth-century Phoenician forms, **the Gozan pedestal *kap*’s right prong has lengthened, forming a short, straight tail.**<sup>554</sup> This resembles ninth-century Phoenician *kap*. Throughout the ninth-eighth centuries, in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, the tail of *kap* continues to lengthen and its head breaks down. This is discussed in detail below.

***Mem* has a five-stroke, zigzag shape. Its bottom stroke is noteworthy, as it is significantly shorter than its upper four strokes, resembling hardly more than a tick;** this gives the letter a rather archaic appearance.<sup>555</sup> In tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions, *mem*’s bottom stroke has begun to elongate and is slightly longer than its upper four strokes. In the ninth-eighth centuries, *mem*’s bottom stroke continues to elongate, as seen in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from this period.

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altaramäischen ‘Altar’-Inscript,” 75; E. Attardo, “Utilità della paleografia per lo studio, la classificazione e la datazione di iscrizioni semitiche in scrittura lineare. Parte II: Scrittura fenicia, ebraica e aramaica,” *Litterae Caelestes* 3.1 (2008-2009): 89-143. I see three bars.

Dankwarth and Müller draw the foot of the Gozan pedestal *yod* as if it angles down to the left. They interpret the stroke on the bottom right of *yod*’s spine as damage (“Zur altaramäischen ‘Altar’-Inscript,” 75). I disagree.

<sup>554</sup> The tail of *kap* in the Gozan pedestal inscription stands completely vertical. Though the tail of *kap* in ninth—eighth-century Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions typically slants from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction, a vertical example is also seen in the late eighth—early seventh-century Phoenician Malta stele *kap*.

<sup>555</sup> The bottom stroke is difficult to see in the first example of *mem*; however, close examination of the photographs reveals that it is there, if just barely so. It is more clearly seen in the second *mem*.

***Taw* has a compact x-shape, made of two strokes of equal length.**<sup>556</sup> It resembles *taw* in the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. Around the late tenth-early ninth century, one of Phoenician *taw*'s strokes begins to lengthen, as seen in the Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription and in all ninth-century Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.

### **The Tel Dan Stele (Fig. 19)**

The Aramaic stele from Tel Dan (*KAI* 310) is made up of three gray basalt fragments. These fragments were discovered during the Hebrew Union College excavation of Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi) led by A. Biran. When found, all three fragments were in secondary contexts, having been reused as building materials. The first piece, Fragment A, was uncovered in 1993. It is 32 cm high and 22 cm at its greatest width. It was found in the remains of a wall built on a section of large pavement at the entrance to the outer city gate. The excavators originally dated the inscription to the first half of the ninth century, as they stated that the pottery assemblage collected from the level beneath the fragment contained nothing later than the mid-ninth century, and a palaeographic assessment of the fragment also yielded a ninth-century date.<sup>557</sup>

Two smaller fragments of the stele were discovered in 1994: Fragment B1, which is 20 cm long and 1.4 cm wide, with an inscribed, flat surface of 15 x 11 cm; and Fragment B2, which is 10 cm long and 9 cm wide, with an inscribed, flat surface of 9 x 6 cm. Fragment B1 was found about 13 m northeast of the find spot of Fragment A, in the debris 0.80 m above a pavement that ran along the city wall. When the pavement was completely cleared, Fragment B2 was found 8 m north of the find spot of Fragment B1, near the base of a wall. The excavators dated the pavement from the pottery

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<sup>556</sup> Cross says "The vertical down-stroke of *taw* in the Gozan text has lengthened beyond the earlier 'X'-form" ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāhāriyeh Bilingual," 398 = *Leaves*, 54). He draws *taw* with one elongated stroke in his script chart of the Gozan pedestal (405 = *Leaves*, 59) but not in his drawing (397 = *Leaves*, 53). I see no appreciable stroke lengthening in the Gozan pedestal *taw*.

<sup>557</sup> Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele," 81-98; A. Biran, *Biblical Dan* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society; Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1994), 274-78; A. Biran and J. Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription: A New Fragment," *IEJ* 45 (1995): 1-18. The excavators associate the destruction of the city gate complex with the campaign activity of Tiglath-pileser III (733/32 BCE), providing a *terminus ante quem* for the inscription.

found beneath it, which they dated to the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century. Based on these new fragment finds, the excavators lowered their preferred date for the stele (Fragments A, B1, and B2) to the second half of the ninth century.<sup>558</sup> The stele is now in the Israel Museum (IAA 1996-125, 1993-3162).

Fragments B1 and B2 have a clear join, but the join between these two fragments and Fragment A is less obvious. This has caused some scholars to question whether Fragments A and B (1 and 2) are part of the same inscription.<sup>559</sup> While conducting this study, I did a comparative analysis of the scripts of Fragments A and B (1 and 2), and there is nothing in their scripts to indicate that any of the fragments come from different inscriptions. Indeed, the scripts of Fragments A and B show only minor variation between them, and no more variation than that found within the letter

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<sup>558</sup> Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription," 1-18. The excavators prefer a date for the inscription sometime in the latter half of the ninth century based on a confluence of the archaeological find spot, a palaeographical analysis of the letter forms, and the content of the inscription.

G. Athas ("Archaeological Context of the Fragments," in *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*. JSOTSup 360 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press], 5-17; cf. 164-65, 296-98) gives both a summary of the history of scholarship surrounding and an updated discussion of the archaeological context of the stele fragments. His discussion indicates that all three fragments come from the same chronological horizon, and he prefers to date the inscription to around c.800 (+/- 20 years). His summary of the evidence does not alter the chronological horizon allowed for by Biran and Naveh, namely the second half of the ninth-early eighth centuries BCE. So also, W. M. Schniedewind, review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*, RBL 10 (2003): 88-89.

<sup>559</sup> Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription," 11. Restorers from the Israel Museum and Hebrew Union College believe that all of the fragments can be joined below the surface of line five (Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription," 11, 11 n.5). However, not all scholars agree about the place of the join or that a join can even be made. See, for example, F. Cryer, "King Hadad," *SJOT* 9 (1995): 223-35; T. L. Thompson, "Dissonance and Disconnections: Notes on the BYTDWD and HMLK.HDD Fragments from Tel Dan," *SJOT* 9 (1995): 236-40; A. Demsky, "On Reading Ancient Inscriptions: The Monumental Aramaic Stele Fragment from Tel Dan," *JANES* 23 (1995): 35; W. M. Schniedewind, "Tel Dan Stela: New Light on Aramaic and Jehu's Revolt," *BASOR* 302 (1996): 77-78; idem, review of Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 88-91; B. Becking, "The Second Danite Inscription: Some Remarks," *BN* 81 (1996): 21-29; idem, "Did Jehu Write the Tel Dan Inscription," *SJOT* 13 (1999): 187-201; cf. idem, "Does the Stele from Dan Refer to a Deity Bethel?" *BN* 118 (2003): 19-23; cf. idem, review of H. Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology*, *JSS* 54 (2009): 259-61; P.-E. Dion, "The Tel Dan Stele and Its Historical Significance," in *Michael: Historical, Epigraphical and Biblical Studies in Honor of Prof. Michael Heltzer* (Y. Avishur and R. Deutsch, eds.; Tel Aviv: Archaeological Center Publications, 1999), 146; G. Galil, "A Re-arrangement of the Fragments of the Tel Dan Inscription and the Relations between Israel and Aram," *PEQ* 133 (2001): 16-21; M. Staszak, "Zu einer Lesart und dem historischen Hintergrund des Fragments B der Stele von Tel Dan," *BN* 142 (2009): 67-77; G. Athas, "Arrangement of the Fragments," in *Tel Dan Inscription*, 175-91; idem, "Setting the Record Straight: What Are We Making of the Tel Dan Inscription?" *JSS* 51 (2006): 241-55; cf. N. Na'aman, review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*, RBL 10 (2004), 4 pages [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/3275\\_3960.pdf](http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/3275_3960.pdf); cf. H. Hagelia, "The First Dissertation on the Tel Dan Inscription" (review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*), *SJOT* 18 (2004): 135-46.

I. Kottsieper provides a sound response to the discussion surrounding the "join" of Fragments A and B ("The Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310] and the Political Relations between Aram-Damascus and Israel in the First Half of the First Millennium BCE," in *Ahab Agonistes: The Rise and Fall of the Omri Dynasty* [L. Grabbe, ed.; New York: T&T Clark, 2007], 106-7, especially n.12.



forms of Fragment A alone or within the letter forms of many other singular Northwest Semitic inscriptions.<sup>560</sup> G. Athas, who reaches the same conclusion with regard to the script of the Tel Dan

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<sup>560</sup> Cryer ("King Hadad," 225-26) and Becking ("The Second Danite Inscription," 22; idem, "Did Jehu Write the Tel Dan Inscription," 187-201) state that variations between the forms of some letters in Fragments A and B demonstrate that these fragments derive from different inscriptions. Similarly, Thompson argues that the average size of the letters of Fragment B are larger than the letters of Fragment A ("Dissonance and Disconnections," 238).

Cryer states that the parallel strokes of the letter *he* are the same length in Fragment A, but that two of the three examples of *he* in Fragment B1 have a short middle stroke ("King Hadad," 226). An examination of most Northwest Semitic inscriptions, especially those from the tenth-eighth centuries (e.g., the Kilamuwa stele discussed in the previous chapter and the el-Kerak fragment and the Khirbet el-Qom inscriptions discussed in the following chapter), reveals that the length of the parallel strokes of *he* may vary minutely within the same inscription, and such is the case within Fragment A of Tel Dan itself. Note the minor variations in the parallel strokes of the three *hes* in line five. Similarly, Athas states that the parallel strokes of *he* in Fragment A are not the same length but grow shorter as they move down the stem. He also notes that while this is a tendency in Fragment A, it is "by no means universal" (*Tel Dan Inscription* 106, 143; see his summary discussion on pages 106-7, 142-45).

Cryer also states that the left corner of the head of *waw* in Fragment A bends almost at a right angle; while *waw* in Fragment B1 has a very broad head, with an angle of 10-15 degrees from the vertical. He further states that there is only one example of *waw* in Fragment B2 (line four, letter three), that its head declines about 50-60 degrees from the vertical, and that it is understood as a *waw* only with difficulty ("King Hadad," 225). I disagree: (1) The letter in question in Fragment B2 (line four, letter three) is clearly a *waw*, and there is no difficulty understanding this. (2) Cryer notes the variation in the heads of *waw* between Fragments B1 and 2, yet he believes these fragments are part of the same inscription. Why does he not allow for such variation between the scripts of Fragments A and B as well? (3) The heads of *waw* in Fragment A also have minor variations among themselves. For example, the head of *waw* in line three (letter one) is quite squared, while the head of *waw* in line 11 (letter five) is rounder. Furthermore, as Athas has stated, "close observation of the forms (of *waw*) in both fragments reveals that the forms do in fact overlap quite significantly. As such, the letter *waw* provides a bridge rather than a chasm between Fragment A and Fragment B" (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 146, 164).

Cryer says that *het* in Fragment A is "atypical, having (its) left riser higher than (its) right one," but that is not the case in Fragment B1, where *het* has the expected form ("King Hadad," 225-26). While the right vertical of *het* in Fragment A does not come up as high as its left vertical, it does only slightly less so. Such a miniscule difference is not typologically significant. (Athas reaches a similar conclusion [*Tel Dan Inscription*, 149-50]).

Becking ("The Second Danite inscription," 22), who initially followed Cryer's palaeographic assessments, also says there are differences between the *kaps* in Fragments A and B but does not state what these differences are. The most notable difference is that *kap*'s tail is more curved in Fragment B than in Fragment A. (Athas also notes this difference [*Tel Dan Inscription*, 151-53]). However, a close examination of the tails of *kap* within the individual inscriptions also reveals minor differences. For example, the curves of the two *kaps* in Fragment B (line three, letter eight; line four, letter four) are not perfectly uniform. Likewise, while most examples of *kap* in Fragment A have a straight tail, a few have tails with slight curvature (line seven, letter one; line eight, letter three; line nine, letter one). (Athas says the difference in styles of *kap* in Fragments A and B is inconclusive for determining if the fragments come from two separate inscriptions. He also uses the Mesha stele as an example of an inscription that has *kaps* with both curved and straight tails [*Tel Dan Inscription*, 152-53]).

As with *kap*, Becking mentions differences between the *lameds* in Fragments A and B but does not define these differences ("The Second Danite inscription," 22). Athas suggests that Becking refers to the shape of *lamed*'s "hooks," but after comparing the *lameds* from Fragments A and B, says "there is adequate overlap of the forms on both fragments, so the figures do not lend support to Becking's claim of exclusive differences" (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 154). I concur with Athas, and have noted in the palaeographic analysis at the end of this chapter that *lamed* maybe be both hooked or angular in Aramaic inscriptions in this period and that variations are often found within the same inscription. Note, for example, the Aramaic Melqart stele and Phoenician Nora stone *lameds*.

Cryer says the heads of *mem* on Fragment B are "flattish", while those on Fragment A "angle down to their stems by as much as 30 to 40 degrees" ("King Hadad," 226). Athas has noted that with regard to *mem*, both Fragment A and Fragment B have "internal inconsistencies" in themselves (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 155). Furthermore, when I compare the *mems* in both Fragments A and B (1 and 2), I see no significant differences between them.

Cryer describes 'ayin in Fragment A as ovoid and right-leaning, and in Fragment B as round ("King Hadad," 226). He does not seem to notice the minor variations in the examples of 'ayin within Fragment A itself. While 'ayin in line 12 (letter three) is slightly more ovoid and right-leaning, 'ayin in line 13 (letter four) is rounder. Likewise, Athas correctly states that "Cryer is much too stringent in his allowance for a margin of variation between separate figures. When the 'ayins of both fragments are lined up, they are seen to be virtually identical in both shape and size while also demonstrating that the human hand is not mechanically precise in all minutiae" (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 158).

Cryer says the heads of *resh* in Fragment A are isosceles triangles and that two out of three of the heads of *resh* in Fragment B (1 and 2) are simply right-angled triangles, like pennants ("King Hadad," 226). As in his discussion of *waw*, he

fragments, explains such minor variation well: “The differences that do exist (in the script of the Tel Dan stele) may, therefore, be attributed to the natural inability of one human hand to reproduce more than one written form in *exact* replica. Yet, it must be said that few other individual inscriptions reproduce such closely matching figures.”<sup>561</sup> Having established that Fragments A and B belong to the same inscription, I treat the inscription as a unit in my analysis below.

The Tel Dan inscription is a memorial stele and seems to commemorate the military victory of an Aramaean king over King “[ ]ram” of Israel and King “[ ]yahu” of Judah (*bytdwd*).<sup>562</sup>

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seems willing to allow discrepancies between Fragments B 1 and 2 that he will not allow between Fragments A and B. Furthermore, Cryer does not note the variation in the head of *resh* within Fragment A itself. Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 129, 161) also observes that “The angles within the triangular head (of *resh*) vary considerably from one example to the next.” Observe, for example, the *reshes* in Fragment A line 10 (letter four) and line 11 (letter three).

Thompson argues that the average size of the letters of Fragments B1 and B2 are larger than the letters of Fragment A (“Dissonance and Disconnections,” 238). When I compare Fragment A and Fragment B (1 and 2), I see no significant variations in letter size between them, and definitely no more variation than can be seen within the individual fragments themselves. See, for example, the variations in the size of *resh* within Fragment A (line four, letter one; line ten, letter four; line eleven, letter three), as well as the minor variations in the size of *dalet* in Fragment A (the three *dalets* in line five). The Tel Dan stele discussion provides a good example of how overly-stringent palaeographic analysis shows a limited knowledge of the wider corpus of (early) Iron Age Northwest Semitic inscriptions and is neither sound nor helpful. Solid palaeographic methodology distinguishes between minor variations in letter forms and truly significant typological letter features. For similar examples of minor variations in letter forms within the same inscription, note the scripts of the Honeyman inscription, Nora stone, and the individual Karatepe inscriptions. Tel Dan has a much more uniform script than these! Cf. the discussions of an acceptable range of variance and of overly-stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>561</sup> Athas conducted a thorough examination of each of the letter forms, treating Fragments A and B separately, and demonstrates that there is no more variation between the letter forms, both in shape and size, in Fragments A and B, than among the individual forms within Fragments A and B themselves, or among the letter forms within a variety of individual Iron Age Northwest Semitic inscriptions (“Palaeographical Analysis,” in *Tel Dan Inscription*, 94-174, see especially pages 144-45). (H. Hagelia holds the same opinion [*The Tel Dan Inscription: A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology*. *Studia Semitica Upsaliensia* 22 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2006), 83-102]). Athas’s work has convinced Becking, who now believes Fragments A and B are part of the same stele (“Does the Stele from Dan Refer to a Deity Bethel?” 19-23; idem, review of Hagelia, *Tel Dan Inscription*, 259-61).

<sup>562</sup> The majority of scholars maintain that *bytdwd* should be translated “House of David” and is a reference to Judah. See, for example, Biran and Naveh, “An Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan,” 81-98; idem, “The Tel Dan Inscription,” 1-18; J. Tropper, “Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan,” *UF* 25 (1993): 395-406; Z. Kallai, “The King of Israel and the House of David,” *IEJ* 43 (1993): 248; S. Ahituv, “Suzerain or Vassal? Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan,” *IEJ* 43 (1993): 256-57; idem, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 466-73; M. Dijkstra, “An Epigraphic and Historical Note on the Stela of Tel Dan,” *BN* 74 (1994): 10-14; E. Lipiński, “The Victory Stele from Tell el-Qādi,” in *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics II* (Leuven: Peeters, 1994), 83-101; idem, *The Arameans: Their History, Culture, Religion*. OLA 100 (Leuven: Peeters) 2001; P. Kaswalder and M. Pazzini, “La stele aramaica di Tel Dan,” *RB* (Revista Biblica) 2 (1994): 193-201; B. Margalit, “The Old Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan,” *NABU* 1 (1994) 20-21; idem, “The Old Aramaic Inscription of Hazael from Dan,” *UF* 26 (1994): 317-20; A. Millard, “Absence of Word Divider Proves Nothing,” *BAR* 20.6 (1994): 68-69; idem, “The Tel Dan Stele (2.39),” *COS* 2, 161-62; A. Lemaire, “Epigraphie palestinienne: Nouveaux documents I Fragment de stele araméenne de Tell Dan (IXe s. av. J.-C.),” *Henoch* 16 (1994): 87-93; idem, “The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography,” *JSOT* 81 (1998): 3-14; McCarter, *Ancient Inscriptions*, 87; É. Puech, “La stèle araméenne de Dan: Bar Hadad II et la coalition des Omrides et de la maison de David,” *RB* 101 (1994): 215-41; A. Rainey, “The House of David and the House of the Deconstructionists,” *BAR* 20 (1994): 47; B. Halpern, “The Stela from Dan: Epigraphic and Historical Considerations,” *BASOR* 296 (1994): 63-80; B. Becking, “Het ‘Huis van David’ in een pre-exilische inscriptie uit Tel-Dan,” *NedTT* 49 (1995): 108-23; Demskey, “On Reading Ancient Inscriptions,” 29-35; idem, “Reading Northwest Semitic Inscriptions,” *NEA* 70 (2007): 68-74; V. Sasson,

Though the names of these kings are not (fully) preserved, the consensus of scholarship favors the contemporaries Hazael of Damascus,<sup>563</sup> Joram (*Yawrām*) of Israel,<sup>564</sup> and Ahaziah (‘*Aḥazyāhū*) of

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“The Old Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan: Philological, Literary, and Historical Aspects,” *JSS* XL (1995): 11-30; K. A. Kitchen, “A Possible Mention of David in the Late Tenth Century Bce, and Deity \*Dōd as Dead as the Dodo?” *JSOT* 76 (1997): 29-44; S. B. Parker, *Stories in Scripture and Inscriptions: Comparative Studies on Narratives in Northwest Semitic Inscriptions and the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University, 1997); Schniedewind, “Tel Dan Stela,” 75-90; I. Kottsieper, “Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan und die politischen Beziehungen zwischen Aram-Damaskus und Israel in der 1. Hälfte des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus,” in *Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf. Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen Unter Mitwirkung von Hanspeter Schaudig herausgegeben von Manfred Dietrich und I. Kottsieper*. AOAT 2509 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1998), 475-500; idem, “Tel Dan Inscription (*KAI* 310),” 104-34, see especially n.3; K. L. Noll, “The God Who is Among the Danites,” *JSOT* 80 (1998), 3-23; P.-E. Dion, *Les Araméens à l’âge du fer: histoire politique et structures sociales*. Études bibliques, nouvelle série 34 (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1997), 225-32; idem, “The Tel Dan Stele,” 145-56; J.-W. Wesseliuss, “The First Royal Inscription from Ancient Israel: The Tel Dan Inscription Reconsidered,” *JSOT* 13 (1999): 163-86; idem, “The Road to Jezreel: Primary History and The Tel Dan Inscription,” *JSOT* 15 (2001): 83-103; Galil, “A Re-arrangement,” 16-21; G. Couturier, “Quelques observations sur le *bytdwd* de la stèle araméenne de Tel Dan,” in *The World of the Aramaeans II*. JSOTSup 325 (P. M. M. Daviau, J. W. Wevers, and M. Weigl, eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 72-98; H. Hagelia, “How Important Is the Tel Dan Stele, except for Its Relation to the Bible?” *SEA* 69 (2004): 155-66; idem, *Tel Dan Inscription*; idem, *The Dan Debate: The Tel Dan Inscription in Recent Research* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix, 2009); K. L. Younger, “Hazael, Son of a Nobody,” in *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard* (P. Bienkowski, C. Mee, and E. Slater, eds.; New York: T&T Clark, 2005): 245-70, see especially n.3; S. Irvine, “The Last Battle of Hadadezer,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 341-47; D. Pardee, review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*, *JNES* 65 (2006): 289-91; C. A. Rollston, “Inscription, Tel Dan,” in *New Interpreter’s Dictionary of the Bible*. Vol. 3 (I-Ma) (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2006), 48; R. Byrne, “Letting David Go,” *BAR* 34 (2008): 30, 78.

However, not all agree with this interpretation, such as F. Cryer, “On the Recently Discovered ‘House of David’ Inscription,” *JSOT* 8 (1994): 3-19; idem, “A ‘Betdawd’ Miscellany: Dwd, Dwd’ or Dwdh?” *JSOT* 9 (1995): 52-58; P. R. Davies, “*Bytdwd* and *swkt dwyd*: A Comparison,” *JSOT* 64 (1994): 23-24; idem, “‘House of David’ Built on Sand: The Sins of the Biblical Maximizers,” *BAR* 20 (1994): 54-55; N. P. Lemche and T. L. Thompson, “Did Biran Kill David? The Bible in the Light of Archaeology,” *JSOT* 19 (1994): 3-22; E. A. Knauf, A. de Pury, and Th. Römer, “\**BaytDawid* ou \**BaytDōd*? Une relecture de la nouvelle inscription de Tel Dan,” *BN* 72 (1994): 60-69; E. Ben Zvi, “On the Reading ‘*bytdwd*’ in the Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan,” *JSOT* 64 (1994): 25-32; H. M. Barstad and B. Becking, “Does the Stele from Tel-Dan Refer to a Deity Dōd,” 5-12; R. G. Lehmann and M. Reichel, “DOD und ASIMA in Tell Dan,” *BN* 77 (1995): 23-31; H.-P. Müller, “Die aramäische Inschrift von Tel Dan,” *ZAH* vii (1995): 121-39; N. P. Lemche, “Bemerkungen über einen Paradigmenwechsel aus Anlaß einer neuentdeckten Inschrift,” in *Meilenstein*. ÄAT 30 (M. Weippert, ed.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), 99-108; idem, *The Israelites in History and Tradition* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 43; E. A. Knauf, “Das ‘Huis Davids’ in der alt-aramäische Inschrift vom Tel Dan,” *BK* (1996): 9-10; C. S. Ehrlich, “The *BYTDWD*-Inscription and Israelite Historiography: Taking Stock after Half a Decade of Research,” in *The World of the Aramaeans II*. JSOTSup 325. (P. M. M. Daviau, J. W. Wevers, and M. Weigl, eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 57-71; Athas, *Tel Dan Inscription*, 217-26; idem, “Setting the Record Straight,” 241-55.

<sup>563</sup> Other proposals include: Bar Hadad II (Aḥituv, “Suzerain or Vassal?,” 256-57; Puech, “La stèle araméenne de Dan,” 215-41; Dijkstra, “An Epigraphic and Historical Note on the Stela of Tel Dan,” 10-14); Jehu (Wesseliuss, “The First Royal Inscription from Ancient Israel,” 163-86; idem, “The Road to Jezreel,” 83-103; cf. Becking, “Did Jehu Write The Tel Dan Inscription,” 187-201); Hazael or his son Bar Hadad (Galil, “A Re-arrangement,” 16-21; Athas, *Tel Dan Inscription*, 255-65; idem, “Setting the Record Straight,” 241-55). Dion believes that Hazael struck Joram of Israel but that Jehu killed him, while the House of David walked away (“The Tel Dan Stele,” 145-56). Staszak thinks that Bar-Hadad II, son of Hazael is the speaker in Fragment A, while Hazael is the speaker in Fragment B (“Zu einer Lesart,” 67-77). Irvine believes that Hadadezer is the speaker in lines 1-4a, while Hazael is the speaker in lines 4b-13 (“The Last Battle of Hadadezer,” 341-47).

<sup>564</sup> Noll suggests ‘Ahiram or Hiram of Tyre as an option (“The God Who is Among the Danites,” 9-10). Becking suggests Adonleram, servant of a king of Aramaic Hamath (“The Second Danite Inscription,” 27). See Athas’s summary discussion (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 237-44); he suggests Makbirra of Hazor.

Judah.<sup>565</sup> A history of scholarship and bibliography can be found especially in *KAI*, *COS* 2,<sup>566</sup>

Athas,<sup>567</sup> H. Hagelia,<sup>568</sup> and I. Kottsieper.<sup>569</sup> Good photographs can be found in A. Biran and J.

Naveh<sup>570</sup> and in Athas.<sup>571</sup>

The script of this inscription is Phoenician and dates palaeographically from the mid to late ninth century BCE.<sup>572</sup> The surface of the inscription is well preserved, and the few ambiguous readings that occur do so in the case of damaged letters near the fragments' edges.

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<sup>565</sup> Dion reads "[ ]yahu" as "Jehu." He does not believe that this name is associated with the following *bytdwd* phrase but with the previous phrase ("The Tel Dan Stele," 145-56). See note 562 above. Athas suggests Amaziah son of Joash (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 194, 244).

<sup>566</sup> Millard, "The Tel Dan Stele (2.39)," 161-2.

<sup>567</sup> Athas, *Tel Dan Inscription*. See also the following reviews: Schniedewind, review of Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 88-91; Hagelia, "The First Dissertation on the Tel Dan Inscription," 135-46; Na'aman, review of Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*; R. Hess, review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*, *CBQ* 67 (2005): 305-6; H. G. M. Williamson, review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*, *VT* 55 (2005): 416; Pardee, review of Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 289-91; V. Sasson, "The Tel Dan Aramaic Inscription: The Problems of a New Minimalized Reading," (review of G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*), *JSS* 50 (2005): 23-34. Cf. G. Athas, "Setting the Record Straight," 241-55.

<sup>568</sup> Hagelia, *Tel Dan Inscription*. See also the following reviews: H. G. M. Williamson, review of H. Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology*, *JSOT* 31 (2007): 32; J. Stökl, review of H. Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology*, *VT* 58 (2008): 428-29; Becking, review of Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 259-61; M. J. Suriano, review of H. Hagelia, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology*, *JNES* 69 (2010): 251-52.

Hagelia, *The Dan Debate*. See also the following review: G. Athas, review of H. Hagelia, *The Dan Debate: The Tel Dan Inscription in Recent Research*, *RBL* 09 (2010), 5 pages [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/7502\\_8189.pdf](http://www.bookreviews.org/pdf/7502_8189.pdf).

<sup>569</sup> Kottsieper, "Tel Dan Inscription (*KAI* 310)," 104-34. No one source offers a complete bibliography of this inscription. Note also, Ehrlich, "The *BYTDWD*-Inscription," 57-71; Younger, "Hazeal, Son of a Nobody," especially 246 n.3; M. J. Suriano, "The Apology of Hazeal: A Literary and Historical Analysis of the Tel Dan Inscription," *JNES* 66.3 (2007): 163-76; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 466-73; Rollston, "Inscription, Tel Dan," 47-48; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 50; A. Knapp, "The Tel Dan Inscription of Hazeal," in "Royal Apologetic in the Ancient Near East" (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 2012), 214-38; idem, "Appendix 5: The Tel Dan Inscription," in "Royal Apologetic," 398-400; idem, "The Dispute over the Land of Qedem at the Onset of the Aram-Israel Conflict: A Reanalysis of Lines 3-4 of the Tel Dan Inscription," *JNES*, forthcoming.

<sup>570</sup> Biran and Naveh, "The Tel Dan Inscription," 5, 8, 10.

<sup>571</sup> Athas, *Tel Dan Inscription*.

<sup>572</sup> Biran and Naveh state that the language of the Tel Dan inscription is Early Aramaic. They date its script to the mid-ninth century BCE, or some decades earlier or later, comparing it with the scripts of other monumental inscriptions from this period, both Aramaic and Phoenician (as Naveh does not believe that the Aramaic script can be distinguished from Phoenician script until the mid-eighth century) ("An Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," 87, 94-95, 94 n.23-24; idem, "The Tel Dan Inscription," 17-18).

The following wrote before Fragment B was discovered:

Lipiński says the script of Fragment A follows the South-Phoenician tradition and does not contradict the editors' dating of the Tel Dan stele to the first half of the ninth century ("The Victory Stele from Tell el-Qāḍi," 83-101).

Transliteration:<sup>573</sup>

1.           ] <sup>574</sup>m <sup>575</sup>r | ‘[           ] wgz? <sup>576</sup>[           ]

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Puech dates Tel Dan Fragment A to c.850. He believes the script is Aramaic and that the Aramaic script can be distinguished from Phoenician (as well as Israelite, Judaean, Moabite, and Ammonite) in the ninth century BCE (“La stèle araméenne de Dan,” 230-33).

Tropper says the Tel Dan stele script dates between 840-825 BCE, and that it represents the West Aramaic linear development of the alphabetic script that, in the ninth century, is already distinguished from the East Aramaic, Phoenician, and Moabite scripts, as well as the script of the Ammon Citadel inscription. (“Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan,” 398-401; idem, “Paläographische und linguistische Anmerkungen zur Steleninschrift aus Dan,” *UF* 26 [1994]: 487-89). As shown in my palaeographic assessment of Aramaic script below, I believe only the script used in the Moabite inscriptions can be distinguished from the others in Tropper’s list during the ninth century.

Halpern compares Tel Dan Fragment A with the eighth-century Zakkur inscription. He says there are significant differences between the two inscriptions, but that these might be geographical versus chronological differences, differences more “of scribal tradition than of time” (“The Stela from Dan,” 68). Unfortunately, he does not elaborate on this statement; however, my study of the Aramaic scripts presented in this chapter makes clear that the difference between the scripts of the Tel Dan and Zakkur stelae are chronological and not geographical. (For a sound argument against local script variations, see Naveh, “Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek,” 101-13 = *Studies*, 92-104). Additionally, Halpern states that the Tel Dan stele is “part neither of the tenth to ninth century nor the eighth to seventh century Aramaic epigraphic tradition, but is on the cusp of each” (“The Stela from Dan,” 68). His statement seems to imply a (late) ninth–(early) eighth century date, but he does not say this.

The following wrote after Fragment B was discovered:

P. K. McCarter Jr. dates the stele to the mid-ninth century (*Ancient Inscriptions*, 87). Cross dates the Tel Dan stele “close to the date of an Aramaean victory over Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah . . . These kings overlapped only one year in my chronology, in c. 842 BCE.” He says that the script suggests a date not much later than 840 BCE, but gives a range of 842-825 BCE (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual,” 394, 394-95 n.6 = *Leaves*, 51, 51-52 n.7; idem, “The Stele Dedicated to Melqart,” in *Leaves*, 173; idem, “Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,’” in *Leaves*, 98). Lemaire compares the Tel Dan stele with “des inscriptions phénico-araméennes” and dates it to the second half of the ninth century (“Epigraphie palestinienne,” 89-90; idem, “The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography,” 3). Elsewhere, he dates it to the last quarter of the ninth century (“‘House of David’ Restored in Moabite Inscription,” *BAR* 3 [1994]: 30-37). Rollston dates the inscription to the second half of the ninth century (“Inscription, Tel Dan,” 48; *Writing and Literacy*, 51).

Hagelia prefers a date in the latter part of the ninth century for the Tel Dan inscription. He says the script may be referred to as Canaanite, Palaeo-Hebrew, or Palaeo-Aramaic (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 80-83, 100-102, 122-23). Demsky says the script is Aramaic and dates to the late ninth century (“On Reading Ancient Inscriptions,” 30). Schniedewind dates the script to c.825 (+/-75 years) (“Tel Dan Stela,” 78). Dion dates the script of the Tel Dan stele to the late ninth-early eighth century (820-790 BCE) (“The Tel Dan Stele,” 146-48). Athas dates the script of the inscription to c.800 (+/- 20 years) BCE (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 135-37, 163-65; cf. 16-17, 296-98). He says that the Tel Dan stele is written in a “Syrian” and “northern” script, preferring to give the script style a regional or geographical versus a political designation. However, he often compares the script of the Tel Dan stele to that of the Phoenician Honeyman inscription from Cyprus.

Cryer says the script of Tel Dan Fragment A is “a variant of the Phoenician-influenced monumental script that was in use in Syria-Phoenicia in the 10<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> centuries.” He prefers an eighth-century date for the inscription (“On the Recently Discovered ‘House of David’ Inscription,” 6-9; “A ‘Betdawd’ Miscellany: Dwd, Dwd’ or Dwdh?” 55-56; “Of Epistemology, Northwest-Semitic Epigraphy and Irony: The ‘BYTDWD/House of David’ Inscription Revisited,” *JSOT* 69 [1996]: 16). Cryer believes Fragments A and B are from different inscriptions, he says that these inscriptions are “written in essentially the same script. They could be products of the same school, or even of the same individual after some years’ interval” (“King Hadad,” 225-26). I have responded to Cryer above.

<sup>573</sup> This transliteration follows the current arrangement of the fragments found in the Israel Museum (following Biran and Naveh, “The Tel Dan Inscription,” 1-18).

<sup>574</sup> Puech reads a possible *mem* earlier in the line (“La stèle araméenne de Dan,” 218-19). Wesselius reads a *taw*, a *samek*, and a *resh* earlier in the line (“The First Royal Inscription,” 173; “The Road to Jezreel,” 86). The area is too damaged to propose a reconstruction.

2. ]? ??<sup>577</sup> | 'by | ysq<sup>578</sup> [ ]t<sup>579</sup>lhmh | b'<sup>580</sup> ]<sup>581</sup>
3. wyškb | 'by | yhk | 'l [ ]h<sup>582</sup> | wy'l | mlk<sup>583</sup>y [ ]
4. r'l | qdm | b'rq | 'by<sup>584</sup> [ ]?<sup>585</sup>hmlk | hdd [ ]<sup>586</sup> [ ]

<sup>575</sup> Tropper ("Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," 401) and Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 36-39, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254) do not read *mem*. They read *taw*, *shin*. There is not room for both of these letters here (so also Schniedewind, "Tel Dan Stela," 79).

<sup>576</sup> Only the stem of this letter is left. It might be any of the following letters: *gimel*, *waw*, *qop*, or *resh*. The following read *resh*: Biran and Naveh ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 12), Becking ("The Second Danite Inscription," 23), Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77), Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 3), Kottsieper ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 477; "Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109), Lemche (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 40), Wesselius ("The First Royal Inscription," 173; "The Road to Jezreel," 86), Dion ("The Tel Dan Stele," 148), N. Na'aman ("Three Notes on the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 50 [2000]: 96), Ehrlich ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67), Galil ("A Re-arrangement," 19), KAI (310, p. 76), Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 80, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254), Hagelia (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 53-55, 76; *The Dan Debate*, 11), Ahituv (*Echoes*, 467), and Knapp, "Appendix 5," 398.

<sup>577</sup> There are traces of at least three letters at the beginning of this line. At least one of these letters has a long stem and might be any of the following: *gimel*, *waw*, *samek*, *qop*, or *resh*. For this area, the following readings are proposed: Dijkstra reads a *he* and a *dalet* ("An Epigraphic and Historical Note on the Stela of Tel Dan," 11); Puech reads *resh*, [ ], *he*, *dalet*, *dalet* ("La stèle araméenne de Dan," 218-19); Lipiński reads a *qop* and an 'ayin ("The Victory Stele from Tell el-Qādi," 89); Schniedewind reads *alep*, *lamed* ("Tel Dan Stela," 77); Kottsieper reads a *he* ("Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109); Na'aman reads a word divider and an 'ayin ("Three Notes," 96); Wesselius reads *he*, 'alep, *lamed* ("The Road to Jezreel," 86); W. M. Schniedewind and B. Zuckerman read *dalet*, *qop*, *alep*, *lamed* ("A Possible Reconstruction of the Name of Haza'el's Father in the Tel Dan Inscription," *IEJ* 51 [2001]: 90). Cf. the following: Younger ("Hazeel, Son of a Nobody," 248) and KAI 310 (76) read [bet], *resh*, [he], *dalet*, *dalet*. Athas reads *samek*, [dalet], *yod* (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 39-51, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254). Ahituv reads *lamed* (*Echoes*, 467).

<sup>578</sup> The following do not read this letter: Cryer ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 15); Knauf, de Pury, and Römer ("\*BaytDawīd ou \*BaytDōd?," 61); Lemche (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 39). Wesselius reads *gimel* ("The Road to Jezreel," 86).

<sup>579</sup> Ahituv (*Echoes*, 467) reads *lamed*, *taw* instead of *taw*, *lamed* (before the *het*, *mem*, *he*). Na'aman (Three Notes," 96) and Wesselius ("The Road to Jezreel," 86) read *mem*. Only the tail of this letter is left; there is only room for a *taw* in this space.

<sup>580</sup> The following read *bet* after the 'alep: Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77); Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 3); Kottsieper ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 477; "Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109); Na'aman (Three Notes," 96); Wesselius ("The Road to Jezreel," 86); Galil ("A Re-arrangement," 19); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 467). The trace or scratch that I assume they are reading as the foot of *bet* sits too high on the line to be that.

<sup>581</sup> Kitchen does not read lines one and two ("A Possible Mention of David," 30).

<sup>582</sup> Knapp reconstructs this *he* but does not read it as certain ("Appendix 5," 399).

<sup>583</sup> Ehrlich reads a word divider here ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67). There is none.

<sup>584</sup> Instead of 'by, Cryer reads x(b)(l) in this space ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 15). Athas reads a *lamed* between the 'alep and the *bet*. He reads the mark on the right as the trace of a *lamed* and the trace on the left as a scratch (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 54-57, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254; review of Hagelia, *The Dan Debate*). The photographs do reveal two marks. (Cf. Biran and Naveh, "An Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," 87 n.6). Becking ("Does the Stele from Tel Dan Refer to a Deity Bethel?" 19-23) critiques Athas's resultant translation, "El-Bay[thel]." Schniedewind says that Athas "utilized computer imaging to make room for a letter that previously did not exist" (review of Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription*, 90). When drawing this inscription for the first time, independent of the drawings and readings of others, I also questioned if a *lamed* could be read between the 'alep and the *bet*. There is room between them for this letter. However, I am disinclined to read a *lamed* in this space, because in order for a *lamed* to fit the appropriate traces in this damaged area, it would have to stand lower with respect to the ceiling line than *lamed* typically

5. 'nh | wyhk | hdd | qdmy[<sup>587</sup> ]'pq | m<sup>588</sup>n<sup>589</sup>b<sup>590, 591</sup>[ ]
6. y | ml?<sup>592</sup>ky | w'qtl | m<sup>593</sup>[ ]?<sup>594</sup>[ ]?<sup>595</sup>n<sup>596</sup> | 'sry | '[ ]

does within this inscription. Throughout the Tel Dan inscription, the upper stroke of *lamed* consistently rises above the ceiling line; and when *lamed* stands in an '*alep-lamed* sequence, it always stands above '*alep*. (Note this sequence in lines 3, 4, 7, and 8.) (Cf. the discussion of letter placement in the Methodology chapter.)

<sup>585</sup> The following read *yod* here: Biran and Naveh ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 12); Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77); Becking ("The Second Danite Inscription," 23); Kitchen ("A Possible Mention of David," 30); Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 3); Kottsieper ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 478; "Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109); Wesselius ("The First Royal Inscription," 173; "The Road to Jezreel," 86); Dion ("The Tel Dan Stele," 148); Na'aman (Three Notes," 96); Hagelia (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 60-62, 76; *The Dan Debate*, 11); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 467). Athas reads a remnant of another unknown letter and a word divider (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 83-86, 193). *He, yod, samek*, and an unknown letter remnant plus a word divider are options.

<sup>586</sup> Ehrlich ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67) and Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254) read a word divider here. Galil does not indicate a space here ("A Re-arrangement," 19).

<sup>587</sup> Athas reads a word divider (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 59, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254). The inscription breaks off here.

<sup>588</sup> Lemche does not read the *nun* or a word divider (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 40). The following read a word divider after the *nun* Biran and Naveh ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 12), Becking ("The Second Danite Inscription," 23), Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77), Kottsieper ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 478; "Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109), Wesselius ("The First Royal Inscription," 173; "The Road to Jezreel," 86), Dion ("The Tel Dan Stele," 148), Lipiński (*The Arameans*, 378), Ehrlich ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67), Galil ("A Re-arrangement," 19), KAI (310, p. 76), Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 86-87, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254), Hagelia (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 62-65, 77; *The Dan Debate*, 11), Ahituv (*Echoes*, 467), and Knapp ("Appendix 5," 399). Kitchen ("A Possible Mention of David," 30) and Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 4) reconstruct a word divider after the *nun*. Rollston draws no word divider after the *nun* ("Dating of the Early Royal Byblian," 83; *Writing and Literacy*, 50). The area in question is damaged, and I can see no word divider.

<sup>589</sup> Lemche does not read the *shin* (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 40).

<sup>590</sup> Lipiński (*The Arameans*, 378) and Knapp ("Appendix 5," 399) read a word divider here. The following do not read a word divider here: Biran and Naveh ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 12), Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77), Kitchen ("A Possible Mention of David," 30), Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 4), Kottsieper ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 478; "Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109), Wesselius ("The First Royal Inscription," 173; "The Road to Jezreel," 86); Dion ("The Tel Dan Stele," 148); Ehrlich ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67); Galil ("A Re-arrangement," 19); KAI (310, p. 76), Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254), Hagelia (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 62-65, 77; *The Dan Debate*, 11), Ahituv (*Echoes*, 467), and Rollston ("Dating of the Early Royal Byblian," 83; *Writing and Literacy*, 50). There is certainly a mark here; however, it is not certain whether it is an intentional word divider or another of the many pock marks on the inscription. The mark in question does not seem completely chiseled out; however, not all word dividers in this inscription are consistently executed.

<sup>591</sup> Lemche does not read the '*ayin* (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 40). Knapp reconstructs the '*ayin* but does not read it as certain ("Appendix 5," 399).

<sup>592</sup> There is a mark here. It is not clear whether it is a pock mark or a word divider. Demsky reads a word divider ("On Reading Ancient Inscriptions," 33).

<sup>593</sup> In 1993, Biran and Naveh read this letter as *nun* ("An Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," 87); however, they read *lamed* in their 1995 publication ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 12). Margalit ("The Old Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," 20) and Knauf, de Pury, and Römer ("\**Bayt Dawid* ou \**Bayt Dôd*?", 61) read *nun*. Ehrlich reads nothing ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67). With regard to reading *lamed* in this space, see especially Suriano, "The Apology of Hazael," 167-71. Puech not only reads *lamed* but also reads *kap*, '*alep* after the *lamed* ("La stèle araméenne de Dan," 218).

<sup>594</sup> Dijkstra reads a *shin* ("An Epigraphic and Historical Note on the Stela of Tel Dan," 11). Cryer reads a *resh* ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 16). The following read *nun*: Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela,"



7. kb | w'lp̄y | prš |<sup>597</sup>[ ]rm | br |<sup>598</sup> ]
8. mlk | ysr'l | w<sup>599</sup>qt<sup>600</sup>[<sup>601</sup> ]yhw | br<sup>602</sup> ]
9. k | byt<sup>603</sup>dwd | w<sup>604</sup>sm |<sup>605</sup>[ ]
10. yt | 'rq | hm | l<sup>606</sup> ]<sup>607</sup>
11. 'h̄rn | wlh?<sup>608</sup>[ ]

77); Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 4); Kottsieper ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 478; "Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109); Galil ("A Re-arrangement," 19); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 467) read a *nun*. Athas reads *waw* (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 61-64, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254). The best options for this letter are *waw*, *mem*, and *nun*.

<sup>595</sup> The following read 'ayin: Biran and Naveh ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 12), Becking ("The Second Danite Inscription," 23), Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77), Kitchen ("A Possible Mention of David," 30), Wesseliuss ("The First Royal Inscription," 173), KAI (310, p.76), Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 87-88, 193; "Setting the Record Straight," 254), Hagelia (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 65-68, 77; *The Dan Debate*, 11), Kottsieper ("Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109), Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 467), and Knapp ("Appendix 5," 399). With regard to reading 'ayin in this space, see especially Suriano, "The Apology of Hazael," 167-71. The following read *pe*: Lemaire ("The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 4), Lipiński (*The Arameans*, 378), and Galil ("A Re-arrangement," 19). Dion ("The Tel Dan Stele," 148) and Ehrlich ("The BYTDWD-Inscription," 67) read nothing. Wesseliuss reads *yod* ("The Road to Jezreel," 86). Just the trace of a letter is visible above the break.

<sup>596</sup> This letter is likely a *nun* but might be a *mem*.

<sup>597</sup> Knapp reconstructs the word divider but he does not read it as certain ("Appendix 5," 399). The inscription breaks off here; however, Puech reads *bet* after the word divider ("La stèle araméenne de Dan," 218).

<sup>598</sup> The inscription breaks off here; however, Schniedewind reads 'alep after the word divider ("Tel Dan Stela," 77).

<sup>599</sup> Cryer reads nothing after this *waw* ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 16).

<sup>600</sup> Lemche does not read the *lamed* (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 39). Knapp reconstructs the *lamed* but he does not read it as certain ("Appendix 5," 399).

<sup>601</sup> Lemaire reads a *taw* here ("Epigraphie palestinienne," 87). There is a mark, but it is not clear whether it is damage or a letter trace.

<sup>602</sup> Knapp reads a word divider here ("Appendix 5," 399).

<sup>603</sup> Margalit reads a word divider here ("The Old Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," 20). There is no word divider in this area.

<sup>604</sup> Cryer reads nothing after this 'alep ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 16).

<sup>605</sup> Lemche (*The Israelites in History and Tradition*, 40) and Hagelia (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 72-74, 77; *The Dan Debate*, 12) do not read the word divider. It is there.

<sup>606</sup> Dion reads a word divider after the *lamed* ("The Tel Dan Stele," 149). Schniedewind reads *shin* after the *lamed* ("Tel Dan Stela," 77). The area is damaged and any restorations are conjectural.

<sup>607</sup> Kitchen does not read past line ten ("A Possible Mention of David," 30).

<sup>608</sup> In 1998 ("Die Inschrift vom Tell Dan," 478), Kottsieper reads a word divider here; however, in 2007 ("Tel Dan Inscription [KAI 310]," 109), he has a question mark. Only the corner of this letter remains. It might be any of the following letters: *bet*, *dalet*, *gimel*, *yod*, or *resh*. Margalit reads *dalet* ("The Old Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," 20). Lemaire



12. lk. 'l.<sup>609</sup>yš/ś[ ]

13. mšr<sup>610</sup> | 'l<sup>611</sup>[ ]

Translation:<sup>612</sup>

1. .... MR ' ..... and GZ.....
2. .... my father went up ..... fighting at ' .....
3. And my father lay down, he went to his ..... And entered, the king of I[s-]
4. rael, Qdm, in the land of my father(?) ..... Hadad made me king.....
5. me! And Hadad went in front of me ..... I went out from seven(?) .....
6. -s of my kingdom(?), and I killed ML .....N harnessers of thou[sands of cha-]
7. riots and thousands of riders .....-ram son of .....
8. king of Israel, and ..... killed .....-yahu son of .....[kin-]
9. g of the house of David. And I set .....
10. YT their land to .....
11. others and LH.....
12. LK over YŠ/Ś .....
13. siege upon .....

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:

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reads *yod* ("Epigraphie palestinienne," 87; "The Tel Dan Stela as a Piece of Royal Historiography," 4). Ahituv reads *yod* in his vocalized transliteration of the inscription; however, there seems to be a typo in his standard transliteration of this line (*Echoes*, 467). Puech ("La stèle araméenne de Dan," 218-19) and Schniedewind ("Tel Dan Stela," 77) read *pe*. Because of the height of this letter on the line, I am disinclined to read *pe*.

<sup>609</sup> Cryer does not read the letters after this word divider ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 16).

<sup>610</sup> Dijkstra reads *dalet* ("An Epigraphic and Historical Note on the Stela of Tel Dan," 12). The stem of this letter is too long to be *dalet*.

<sup>611</sup> Cryer does not read the *lamed* ("On the Recently Discovered 'House of David' Inscription," 16), though it is clearly there.

<sup>612</sup> This translation is based on that of Biran and Naveh ("The Tel Dan Inscription," 1-18), especially as updated by Knapp ("Appendix 5," 398-400; "The Dispute over the Land of Qedem at the Onset of the Aram-Israel Conflict," forthcoming); however, very few of their reconstructions have been included.

Like the Gozan pedestal, the script of the ninth-century Tel Dan inscription shares its principle characteristics with the script of contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, including the tendency for counterclockwise rotation of its letters forms, as seen in *'alep*, *bet*, *gimel*, *dalet*, *he*, *zayin*, *het*, *yod*, *kap*, *mem*, *samek*, *šade*, *qop*, and *resh*—a tendency which persists in eighth-century Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. Additionally, however, the Tel Dan script differs in other significant ways from the scripts of the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions of the eighth century—the period when the Phoenician and Aramaic scripts distinguish themselves from one another. First, within the Tel Dan stele, the vertical strokes/spines of *'alep*,<sup>613</sup> *dalet*,<sup>614</sup> and *he*<sup>615</sup> are shorter in comparison with both Phoenician and Aramaic examples of these letters from the eighth century, and this points to a ninth-century date for this inscription. (Note also that the vertical shaft of *'alep* and the spine of *he* are slightly curved, and this is discussed in more detail below). Furthermore, the forms of *zayin* and *kap* are also important for the palaeographic dating of this text.<sup>616</sup>

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<sup>613</sup> Cross also notes that a short-stemmed *'alep* is an earlier form (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual,” 52 n.7).

Cryer argues that Phoenician and Aramaic employ the same script tradition from the tenth–eighth centuries and that the Tel Dan *'alep* has a chronological horizon of the tenth–eighth centuries (“On the Recently Discovered ‘House of David’ Inscription,” 7). He is incorrect on several points. First, the Tel Dan *'alep* exhibits counterclockwise rotation, and *'alep* does not exhibit this stance until the ninth century. This shortens the “chronological horizon” for the Tel Dan *'alep* to the ninth–eighth centuries. Furthermore, as discussed above, *'alep*’s short vertical shaft suggests a ninth-century date for this inscription, though an eighth century date is not precluded.

<sup>614</sup> In the Tel Dan stele, the short-stemmed *dalet* is easily distinguished from the longer-stemmed *reshes* within the inscription. (Attardo does not note this distinction [“Utilità della paleografia,” 131]). In the eighth century, the stem of *dalet* in the Aramaic script continues to elongate, making it harder to distinguish this letter from *resh*.

<sup>615</sup> Cryer says the horizontal bars of Tel Dan *he* are longer and closer together than Phoenician archetypes (“On the Recently Discovered ‘House of David’ Inscription,” 7). There are no significant differences between the horizontal bars in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions in the late tenth–mid–eighth centuries. Furthermore, Cryer says the stem of Tel Dan *he* is longer than Phoenician archetypes. The length of the Tel Dan *he*’s stem is comparable to contemporary Phoenician examples (Honeyman inscription, Nora stone). *He*’s stem begins to elongate in the latter part of the ninth–early eighth century. See the full palaeographic analysis of this letter below.

<sup>616</sup> Note also: Cryer says the chronological horizon for the form of *lamed* seen in the Tel Dan stele is the tenth–eighth centuries (“On the Recently Discovered ‘House of David’ Inscription,” 8). However, as demonstrated by the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions, *lamed* does not penetrate the ceiling line, as it does in the Tel Dan stele, before the ninth century. Therefore, Cryer’s horizon must be reduced to the ninth–eighth centuries.

Tropper draws the Tel Dan *qop* with its vertical shaft slightly piercing the very top of its head (“Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan,” 400). Though this happens in at least one example (the first *qop* in line three), it is not typical for *qop* in this inscription.

Cryer says the *shin* of the Tel Dan stele is “an eccentric ‘w’ with the left end slightly higher than the right” (“On the Recently Discovered ‘House of David’ Inscription,” 8). As demonstrated by my script charts for Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from the tenth–eighth centuries, though the stance of *shin* is typically upright, one or other of its ends

There is one example of *zayin* in the **Tel Dan stele**. It is particularly noteworthy, as it preserves the transitional form of *zayin* that developed between the earlier I-shaped *zayin* (seen in the Gozan pedestal) and the later z-shaped *zayin* that appeared in the latter part of the ninth century. **In this transitional form, *zayin*'s vertical stroke has shifted, sliding toward the right end of its top horizontal stroke and toward the left end of its bottom horizontal stroke.**

Like the Gozan pedestal *kap*, **the Tel Dan stele *kap* has a three-pronged head, with its middle prong splitting equally the distance between its left and right prongs; and its right prong has elongated, forming a tail. The tail of the Tel Dan *kap* slants from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction and exhibits little to no curvature. It is longer than the tail of the Gozan pedestal *kap*** and is an example of how *kap*'s tail continues to lengthen through the ninth-eighth centuries in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions. As mentioned above, around the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century, the head of Phoenician *kap* begins to break down, and this development is discussed in detail below.

### **The Hazael Booty Inscriptions<sup>617</sup>**

Four fragmentary inscriptions bear the name Hazael, and likely belonged to the Aramaean king of Damascus, who reigned from c.844/2-800 BCE:<sup>618</sup> an ivory from Arslan Tash, an ivory from Nimrud, a horse nose plate from Samos, and a horse check plate from Eretria.

#### **Hazael Ivories from Arslan Tash and Nimrud**

##### **Arslan Tash (Fig. 20)**

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might rise or dip slightly. These minor variations have no typological significance. Cf. the discussion of overly-stringent palaeographical analysis in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>617</sup> A. Millard, "The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," in *COS* 2, 162-63.

<sup>618</sup> Hazael of Damascus is the most likely candidate, especially as the texts are written in the Aramaic language. See F. Bron and A. Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," *RA* 83 (1989): 41-44; I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," *IEJ* 39 (1989): 192-200, Pls. 24-25; G. Turner, "The Palace and 'Bâtiment aux ivoires' at Arslan Tash: A Reappraisal," *Iraq* 30 (1968), 67. Cross dates the Hazael booty inscriptions to c.825 BCE ("The Stele Dedicated to Melqart," in *Leaves*, 173-74).

A fragmentary, inscribed ivory plaque (*KAI* 232; Gibson II:2; *COS* 2.40 B1) was found at Arslan Tash (ancient Hadatu) in 1928, during the French excavations conducted by F. Thureau-Dangin, A. Barrois, G. Dossin, and M. Dunand. The plaque is in three pieces; two join but the third does not. The two joining pieces measure roughly 8.5 x 2.5 mm; the third piece, 2.5 x 2 mm. The pieces were discovered in the Neo-Assyrian levels (ninth-seventh centuries BCE) of Arslan Tash, among a larger cache of ivories in room 14 of a small palace. Room 14 seems to have been a storage area for furniture, much of which was decorated with ivory inlays. As this plaque bears the name Hazael, at least some of this furniture was likely taken as tribute or booty from Damascus by the Assyrians during the mid-ninth—mid-seventh centuries.<sup>619</sup> It is now in the Louvre (AO 11489).

The inscription was first published, along with a photograph,<sup>620</sup> by Thureau-Dangin.<sup>621</sup> A history of scholarship and bibliography can be found in A. Millard<sup>622</sup> and J. A. Fitzmyer and S. A. Kaufman.<sup>623</sup> Its Phoenician script dates palaeographically to the second half of the ninth century.<sup>624</sup>

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<sup>619</sup> Millard, “The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40),” 162; F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tash. Text and Atlas* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1931), 41-54, 89-92, 135-41, Pl. XLVII, #112a (in the atlas); R. Dussaud, review of F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan Tash, Syria* 13 (1932): 388-90. For a convenient summary of the Arslan Tash excavations, see R. D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1982), 48-49; Pl. 47. Turner points out that architecturally the building dates from the ninth-seventh centuries, and that most of the ivories date stylistically to the eighth century (“The Palace and ‘Bâtiment aux ivoires’ at Arslan Tash,” 67-68). For further discussion of the ivories and their date see especially, H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (5<sup>th</sup> ed.; New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 1996), 194-200; M. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains 2* (London: Collins, 1966), 654; O. Muscarella, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1980), 218-20; I. Winter, “Is There a South Syrian Style of Ivory Carving in the Early First Millennium B.C.?” *Iraq* 43 (1981): 101-30.

In addition to the Hazael piece, several other ivories bear some writing. The majority are decorative pieces with one or two letters inscribed on their undersides. The letters seem to serve an administrative function and to have been placed on the ivories for either inventory or assembly purposes.

<sup>620</sup> As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study available on InscriptiFact (n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com)).

<sup>621</sup> Thureau-Dangin et al., *Arslan-Tash*, 41-54, 89-92, 135-41; Pl. XLVII: #112a (in the atlas).

<sup>622</sup> Millard, “The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40),” 162-63, #B1. See also Bron and Lemaire, “Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël,” 35-44; Eph‘al and Naveh, “Hazael’s Booty Inscriptions,” 192-200, Pls. 24-25.

<sup>623</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 12-13, B.1.4.

<sup>624</sup> F. M. Cross dates this text to the ninth century (“An Archaic Inscribed Seal from the Valley of Aijalon [Soreq],” *BASOR* 168 (1962), 17 n.27 = *Leaves*, 302 n.27. The following date the text to the second half of the ninth century: Thureau-Dangin et al. (*Arslan-Tash*, 137); *KAI* (232); Haines (“Paleographical Study,” 25, Pl. I); É. Puech (“L’ivoire inscrite d’Arslan-Tash et les rois de Damas,” *RB* 88 [1981]: 545). Gibson (II:2) argues for a palaeographic date near the beginning of Hazael’s reign, which he dates to c.842. Driver dates it to c.850 or “a little after” (*Semitic Writing*, 119-20).

Transliteration:

zt | ḥ<sup>625</sup> [                      ] ?? |<sup>626</sup> ‘m’ | lmr’n | ḥz’l | bšnt

Translation:<sup>627</sup>

This Ḥ[                      ] the people (or ‘Amm’a), for our lord Hazael in the year . . .

Significant Palaeographic Features:

Like the Tel Dan stele, the script of the Arslan Tash ivory shares its principal characteristics with the script of ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions, including the tendency for counterclockwise rotation of its letter forms, as seen in *’alep*, *bet*, *zayin*,<sup>628</sup> *ḥet*, *mem*,<sup>629</sup> and *resh*. Furthermore, the forms of *’alep* and *zayin* are useful for the palaeographic analysis of the text.

**’Alep’s vertical shaft** is longer than that of the Tel Dan *’alep*. **It has lengthened further below its head than above**, exemplifying the stem elongation that *’alep* undergoes during the second half of the ninth-early eighth century.

**Zayin is I-shaped**, as in the Gozan pedestal, and less developed than the transitional form seen in the Tel Dan stele.

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<sup>625</sup> The 1964 edition of *KAI* 232 reads *ḥet* (46); however, the 2002 edition reads *he* (58). It is not certain whether this piece of the text comes before or after the other pieces.

<sup>626</sup> The first three characters of this piece of the inscription are read in various ways. Thureau-Dangin et al. read “br .” (*Arslan Tash*, 135). The 1964 edition of *KAI* (232) reads “. br .” (p.46); however, the 2002 edition reads “h br .” (p.58). Gibson (II:2) reads “br[.]” (p.5). W. Röllig reads “xbr” (“Alte und neue Elfenbeininschriften,” *Neue Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 2 [1974]: 39); Puech (“L’ivoire inscrite d’Arslan-Tash,” 546); and A. Lemaire (“Hazaël de Damas, roi d’Aram,” in *Marchands, diplomates et empereurs: études sur la civilisation mésopotamienne offertes à Paul Garelli*, [Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1991], 92) read “rb .”. Fitzmyer and Kaufman read “h br” (*Aramaic Bibliography*, 12). Lipiński reads “dd .” (“The Victory Stele from Tell el-Qādi,” 93). The third character is a word divider; the first two could be either *bet*, *dalet*, or *resh*.

<sup>627</sup> This translation is based on that of Millard, “The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40),” 162.

<sup>628</sup> One of the two examples stands upright.

<sup>629</sup> Röllig draws *mem* in this inscription incorrectly, as if its zigzag shape has begun to breakdown (“Alte und neue Elfenbeininschriften,” 39).

Nimrud (Fig. 21)

A fragmentary, inscribed ivory plaque (COS 2.40 B2)<sup>630</sup> was found at Nimrud (ancient Kalhu/Calah) in 1961. It measures 2.8 x 0.8 cm and is now in the British Museum. The piece was recovered from Fort Shalmaneser, in the Great Hall (SW37), during the excavations conducted by M. Mallowan and D. Oates for the British School of Archaeology in Iran. Like the Arslan Tash ivory, it bears the name Hazael and was discovered among a larger cache of ivories in a room that housed ivory and furniture. Many of these pieces were likely taken by the Assyrians as tribute or booty from Damascus and throughout Aram during the mid-ninth—mid-seventh centuries.<sup>631</sup>

The inscription, along with a good photograph, was published by Mallowan.<sup>632</sup> A history of scholarship and bibliography can be found in Millard.<sup>633</sup> Its Phoenician script dates palaeographically to the second half of the ninth century.<sup>634</sup>

Transliteration:

[ ]<sup>635</sup> n ḥz'l

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<sup>630</sup> The Mallowan inventory number is ND11310 (*Nimrud and Its Remains* 2, #582).

<sup>631</sup> Millard, "The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 162; idem, in Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* 2, 598-99, #582; 654; R. D. Barnett, *A Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; London: British Museum, 1975), 161-62, Pls. XVI-XVII, CXXXII. For a convenient summary of the Nimrud excavations, see Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East*, 50-55; Pls. 44-51. For further discussion of the ivories and their date see especially, Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, 194-200; Muscarella, *The Catalogue of Ivories from Hasanlu, Iran*, 218-20; Winter, "Is There a South Syrian Style of Ivory Carving," 101-30.

In addition to the Hazael piece, several other ivories bear some writing. The majority are decorative pieces with one or two letters inscribed on their underside. The letters seem to have served an administrative function and to have been placed on the ivories for either inventory or assembly purposes. See especially Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* 2, 595-99; A. Millard, "Alphabetic Inscriptions on Ivories from Nimrud," *Iraq* 24.1 (1962): 41-51; P. K. McCarter Jr., "Inscribed Nimrud Ivories (2.88)," in *COS* 2, 224; É. Puech, "Un ivoire de Bit-Guši (Arpad) à Nimrud," *Syria* 55.1/2 (1978): 163-69.

<sup>632</sup> Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* 2, 598-99, #582.

<sup>633</sup> Millard, "The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 162-63, #B2. See also Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 35-44; Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazael's Booty Inscriptions," 192-200, Pls. 24-25.

<sup>634</sup> Puech also dates the inscription to the second half of ninth century ("L'ivoire inscrite d'Arslan-Tash," 545).

<sup>635</sup> This letter is only partially preserved. It appears to be an 'alep. This reconstruction is made more certain when this ivory is compared to the other Hazael booty inscriptions.

Translation:<sup>636</sup>

our [lor]d Hazael

Significant Palaeographic Features:

Like the Gozan pedestal, Tel Dan stele, and Hazael Arslan Tash ivory, the Nimrud ivory was written in the Phoenician script. Its letter forms tend to rotate in a counterclockwise direction, as seen in *'alep* and *zayin*, and these letters are useful for a palaeographic analysis of this text.<sup>637</sup>

**'Alepe has a short stem**, as in the Tel Dan stele. **Zayin is I-shaped**, as in the Gozan and Arslan Tash inscriptions.

Hazael Horse Head Gear from Greece: Samos and Eretria

Two duplicate inscriptions inscribed on horse head gear were found far afield from Aram on Greek islands. Their texts indicate the head gear was booty taken by Hazael during military campaigns, under the patronage of the Aramaean deity Hadad. During antiquity they were taken again from somewhere in Aram, maybe from Hadad's temple in Damascus, and likely passed through several hands before reaching Greece and being deposited as offerings—one in the temple of Hera in Samos, the other in the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, Euboea.<sup>638</sup> For a convenient bibliography, see Fitzmyer and Kaufman.<sup>639</sup>

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<sup>636</sup> This translation is based on that of Millard, "The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 163. See also Millard's remarks in Malloy, *Nimrud and Its Remains* 2, 598-99, #582.

<sup>637</sup> The shape of *nun* has broken down in this inscription. This form is idiosyncratic in the early Iron II Aramaic inscriptions (cf. *nun* in the Hebrew script in the following chapter, as well as the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>638</sup> Millard, "The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 162. See also the discussion in A. Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Eretrie," *Annali del dipartimento di studi del mondo classic e del Mediterraneo antico* 8 (1986): 117-56, Pls. 33-41. Cf. F. M. Fales, "Rivisitando l'iscrizione aramaica dall'Heraion di Samo," in *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci. Atti del convegno internazionale* (A. Naso, ed.; Grassina, Firenze: Le Monnier universi, 2006): 230-52.

<sup>639</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 22-23, B.1.17. Note also A. M. Bisi, "Les plus anciens objets inscrits en phénicien et en araméen retrouvés en Grèce: leur typologie et leur rôle," in *Phoinikeia Grammata: Lire et Ecrire*

Samos (Fig. 22)

The first piece, a bronze horse nose plate (*KAI* 311), was discovered in 1984, in the Hera temple in Samos, excavated by H. Kyrieleis. It was found in a sixth-century-BCE debris layer. Trapezoidal in shape, it measures 23.3 x 17.5 cm. The plate is decorated with figures carved in relief, including four nude goddesses, and its iconographic style has been identified as north Syrian.<sup>640</sup> It bears one line of text, inscribed on the upper left edge. The Samos Archaeological Museum now houses the piece.

The inscription, along with good photographs, was first published by H. Kyrieleis and W. Röllig.<sup>641</sup> A history of scholarship, bibliography, and photograph can be found in I. Eph'al and J. Naveh.<sup>642</sup> Its Phoenician script dates palaeographically to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century.<sup>643</sup>

Transliteration:

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*en Méditerranée: Actes du Colloque de Liège, 15-18 novembre 1989*. Collection D'Etudes Classiques 6 (Liège: NAMUR, Société des Etudes Classiques, 1991), 277-82.

<sup>640</sup> Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazeal's Booty Inscriptions," 192; H. Kyrieleis and W. Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck aus dem Heraion von Samos," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 103 (1988): 37-75, Pls. 9-15.

<sup>641</sup> Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," Pls. 9-15. I was unable to visit Samos during the summer of 2011, when collating inscriptions for this study. However, published images of the piece are of high quality and allow for a palaeographic analysis of its script.

<sup>642</sup> Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazeal's Booty Inscriptions," 192-200, Pls. 24-25. See also Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 35-44; Millard, "The Hazeal Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 162-63.

<sup>643</sup> Kyrieleis dates the piece to the ninth century on stylistic and iconographic grounds (Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 54). Eph'al and Naveh prefer a ninth-century date ("Hazeal's Booty Inscriptions," 192). Bron and Lemaire date the piece to the end of the ninth century on both palaeographic and iconographic grounds. They note that this date also fits the historical context of Hazeal of Damascus ("Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 41-43). Röllig says the Samos script is like that of the ninth-century Amman Citadel inscription, which he refers to as "Phoenician-Aramaic." He says an eighth-century date is possible, but that the last quarter of the ninth century is not excluded (Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 68-69). Fales says the script of this inscription is a ninth—eighth-century monumental script ("Rivisitando l'iscrizione aramaica dall'Heraion di Samo," 233).



zy ntn hdd<sup>644</sup> lmr'n hz'l mn 'mq bšnt 'd<sup>645</sup>h mr'n nhr

Translation:<sup>646</sup>

That which Hadad gave to our lord Hazael from 'mq in the year when our lord crossed the river.

Significant Palaeographic Features:

As in the previous inscriptions, letter forms in the Samos plate tend toward counterclockwise rotation, as seen in *'alep*, *bet*, *he*, *zayin*, *het*, *yod*, *mem*, and *qop*. Furthermore, the forms of *'alep*, *dalet*, *he*, and *zayin* are useful for dating the text palaeographically.<sup>647</sup>

**'Aleph has an elongated stem**, as in the Arslan Tash ivory.

**There are three examples of *dalet* in the Samos plate. The length of their stems varies, and the shortest stem is found in the first of the three examples. All examples have stems that are short enough to distinguish them from the longer-stemmed *reshes* within this inscription.**

This suggests a second half of the ninth—early eighth-century palaeographic date for this inscription, as in the eighth century, the stem of *dalet* (in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions) grows quite long, making it harder to distinguish this letter from *resh*.

***Zayin* is nearly z-shaped<sup>648</sup>** but not perfectly so. As the Tel Dan stele, the Samos plate preserves the transition of *zayin* from the earlier I-shaped form to the later z-shaped.

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<sup>644</sup> Röllig reads *resh* (Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 62). *KAI* reads *resh/dalet* (311, p.76).

<sup>645</sup> Röllig reads *resh* (Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 62).

<sup>646</sup> This translation follows that of Millard, "The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 162; Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazel's Booty Inscriptions," 192-200, Pls. 24-25; Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 35-44.

<sup>647</sup> Note that the strokes of *he* in this inscription do not always connect well. Likewise, *'ayin* and *qop* are less round than one might expect. These idiosyncrasies have no typological significance and might reflect the skill level of the engraver and/or the difficulty of incising in the metal medium. Röllig also makes the observation that the medium might have affected the quality of engraving of this inscription (Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 68). Cf. the discussions of scribal media and aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>648</sup> Though the following regard the *zayin* as fully z-shaped, close examination reveals that it is not fully so: Röllig in Kyrieleis and Röllig, "Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 68; Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazel's Booty Inscriptions," 193;

**The length of *he*'s spine varies in the Samos plate. There are two shorter-stemmed *hes* and one long-stemmed.** This inscription illustrates the stem elongation *he* experiences in the latter part of the ninth century.

Eretria, Euboea (Fig. 23)

The second piece of horse head gear, a bronze cheek plate (*COS* 2.40 A) was found in the remains of the temple of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria, Euboea. It was recovered during the excavations conducted by K. Kourouniotis at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>649</sup> Though, its stratigraphic context is not known, in 1973, an uninscribed matching plate<sup>650</sup> was found in a late eighth-century-BCE layer.<sup>651</sup> The inscribed plate measures 19.1 x 11.6 cm. It is decorated with figures in relief, including a male humanoid, two lions, and another four-legged animal; its iconographic style has been identified as north Syrian.<sup>652</sup> It bears one line of text, inscribed around its upper edge.<sup>653</sup> It is now in the Athens National Archaeological Museum (NAM 15070).

The inscription was first published by A. Charbonnet.<sup>654</sup> A history of scholarship, bibliography, and photograph can be found in Eph'al and Naveh.<sup>655</sup> Its Phoenician script dates palaeographically to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century.<sup>656</sup>

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Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 39; Tropper, "Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," 400-1.

<sup>649</sup> E. Niki, "Sur une 'Potnia-Gorgone' d'Erétie au Musée national d'Athènes," *R. Arch* I (1933), 145-53; Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Erétie," 117-56, Pls. 33-41; Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 35.

<sup>650</sup> Eretria Museum B 273.

<sup>651</sup> Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Erétie," 117-56, Pls. 33-41; Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazel's Booty Inscriptions," 192; Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 35.

<sup>652</sup> Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Erétie," 131-36.

<sup>653</sup> The engraver accommodated the relief decoration when incising the text.

<sup>654</sup> Charbonnet, "Le dieu aux lions d'Erétie," 117-56, Pls. 33-41. The cheek piece, with no discussion of the inscription, was first published by Niki in 1933 ("Sur une 'Potnia-Gorgone' d'Erétie au Musée national d'Athènes," 117-56, Pls. 33-41).

<sup>655</sup> Eph'al and Naveh, "Hazel's Booty Inscriptions," 192-200, Pls. 24-25. See also Bron and Lemaire, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël," 35-44; Millard, "The Hazel Booty Inscriptions (2.40)," 162-63, #A.

Transliteration:<sup>657</sup>

zy ntn hdd lm[r]’n ḥz’l mn ‘mq bšnt ‘dh mr’n nhr

Translation:<sup>658</sup>

That which Hadad gave to our lord Hazael from ‘mq in the year when our lord crossed the river.

Significant Palaeographic Features:

Like the previous inscriptions, the Eretria letter forms tend toward counterclockwise rotation, e.g., *’alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *he*, *zayin*, *ḥet*, *mem*, *qop*, and *resh*. Also, the forms of *’alep*, *dalet*, *he*, and *zayin* aid in dating this inscription palaeographically.

**The length of *’alep*’s vertical shaft varies. There is at least one short- and one long-stemmed *’alep* within the text.**<sup>659</sup> This inscription illustrates the stem elongation *’alep* undergoes in the latter part of the ninth century.

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I was unable to visit Athens during the summer of 2011, when collating inscriptions for this study, and the published images of the plate are insufficient for conducting a palaeographic analysis of its script, as the inscription is badly worn. For the analysis below, I have relied on the drawing of Bron and Lemaire (“Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël,” 39). Puech provides a script chart of this inscription (“La stèle araméenne de Dan,” 232); however, I follow the drawing of Bron and Lemaire, as they have studied the inscription in depth, alongside the other Hazael pieces.

<sup>656</sup> Charbonnet dates the Eretria piece to the eighth century based on palaeographic and stylistic grounds, as well as on the archeological context of the uninscribed, matching piece. He says the script is more Aramaean than Phoenician (“Le dieu aux lions d’Eretrie,” 140-45). M. Amadasi Guzzo says the piece may be attributed to the middle of the eighth century on typological and stylistic grounds but also that the palaeography favors a date for the script in the end of the ninth century (“Iscrizioni Semitiche di Nord-Ovest in Contesti Greci e Italici [X-VII sec. a.C.]” *Dialoghi di Archaeologia* [3<sup>rd</sup> Series] [1987]:17). Röllig dates it to *circa* the last quarter of the ninth century based on the palaeography of the script and the mention of Hazael in the text (Kyrieleis and Röllig, “Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck,” 71). Bron and Lemaire date it to the end of the ninth-eighth century on palaeographic and iconographic grounds. They note that this date also fits the historical context of Hazael of Damascus (“Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël,” 41-43).

<sup>657</sup> The inscription is worn and difficult to read. Its successful transliteration was aided by the discovery of the Hazael piece from Samos discussed above (Eph’al and Naveh, “Hazel’s Booty Inscriptions,” 192-200, Pls. 24-25; Bron and Lemaire, “Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël,” 35-44). Before this discovery Charbonnet proposed the following reading: “š ntn hrb k[m]tnṭ l’lmn ‘mq bšnt b’rhgmr’mn hr” (“Le dieu aux lions d’Eretrie,” 142).

<sup>658</sup> This translation is based on Millard, “The Hazael Booty Inscriptions (2.40),” 162; Eph’al and Naveh, “Hazel’s Booty Inscriptions,” 192-200, Pls. 24-25; Bron and Lemaire, “Les inscriptions araméennes de Hazaël,” 35-44.

<sup>659</sup> There are three *’aleps* in this inscription; however, the vertical shaft of one of them is damaged, and it is impossible to determine its original length.

***Dalet's stem is long***, reflecting the stem elongation that this letter experiences in the latter ninth-early eighth century. Whereas *dalet* can still be distinguished from *resh* in most Aramaic (and Phoenician) inscriptions from this period, it is more difficult to differentiate these letters in the Eretria plate. As mentioned above, this difficulty increases in the eighth century, as the stem of *dalet* continues to lengthen.

***Zayin is z-shaped***. It has fully transitioned from the earlier I-shaped form seen in the Gozan, Arslan Tash, and Nimrud inscriptions.

**The stem of *he* is quite long**, demonstrating the elongation this letter experiences in the latter part of the ninth century.

### **The Kilamuwa Scepter Sheath (Fig. 24)**

The Kilamuwa scepter sheath (*KAI* 25; Gibson III:14) was discovered during the German excavations of Zincirli led by F. von Luschan. It was found in a narrow passage in front of Palace J. Made of gold, it measures 6.7 cm long and 2.2 cm in diameter and probably originally covered the handle of a scepter or staff.<sup>660</sup> The piece is inscribed with a seven-line text, which states that it was made by Kilamuwa for the god Rakib-'El. As discussed in the previous chapter, Kilamuwa was the king of Sam'al during the latter part of the ninth century, and he is best known from his larger stele.<sup>661</sup> His father, Ḥayya', who is also mentioned in both the sheath and stele inscriptions, is known from the records of Shalmaneser III (858-824), and the sheath is dated to the ninth century based on this association. After its discovery, the sheath was housed in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. It was lost or destroyed during World War II.<sup>662</sup> Fortunately, the published photographs do allow for palaeographic analysis of the inscription.

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<sup>660</sup> Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102, Pl. 47.

<sup>661</sup> The Kilamuwa stele is discussed in the Phoenician chapter of this study.

<sup>662</sup> Joachim Marzahn, Chief Curator for the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (personal communication). The piece had previously been categorized by von Luschan as S 3708 (von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102).

The language of the Kilamuwa sheath inscription is Aramaic.<sup>663</sup> Its script is Phoenician<sup>664</sup> and dates to the second half of the ninth century BCE.<sup>665</sup> It was first published by von Luschan along with images.<sup>666</sup> M. A. Dupont-Sommer produced the *editio princeps*.<sup>667</sup> A bibliography of the

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<sup>663</sup> J. Hoftijzer compares the Kilamuwa sheath with the Bar-Rakib and Panamuwa II inscriptions. He says the language of these inscriptions is neither Canaanite nor Aramaic; though it has elements of both, it also has its own characteristics ("Kanttekeningen bij het onderzoek van de westsemitische epigrafie," *JEOL* 15 [1957-1958]: 117).

The following classify the text as Aramaic. If they have dated the inscription, their date will be listed after their name: Kyrieleis and Röllig, last quarter of the ninth century ("Ein altorientalischer Pferdeschmuck," 69 n.163); Fitzmyer and Kaufman, 850-800 BCE (*Aramaic Bibliography*, 15, B.1.8).

The following classify the language as a dialect of Aramaic used in Sam'al. If they have dated the inscription, their date will be listed after their name: A. Dupont-Sommer says the language of the Kilamuwa sheath is Aramaic but that it is not until the eighth century that "classical" Aramaic replaces the local dialect of Zincirli ("Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou et le dieu Rekoub=el," *RHR* 133 [1947]: 31-32); J. J. Koopmans ("II Kilamuwa," in *Aramäische Chrestomathie* [Leiden: Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1962], 16, Nr 2); H. L. Ginsberg ("Ugaritico-Phoenicia," *JANES* 5 [1973]: 147; "The Northwest Semitic Languages," in *World History of the Jewish People* 2 [B. Mazar, ed.; New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University, 1970], 118-19); P. Swiggers ("The Aramaic Inscription of Kilamuwa," *Or* 51 [1982]: 249-53; S. Segert (*Altaramäische Grammatik: mit Bibliographie, Chrestomathie und Glossar* [Leipzig: VEB, Verlag Enzyklopädie, 1983], 490, #12); S. C. Layton and D. Pardee, late ninth century ("Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria: Old Aramaic Inscriptions," *BA* 51 [1988]: 180-82). Cf. the discussion of Sam'alian Aramaic in I. Young, "The Languages of Ancient Sam'al," in *MAARAV* 9 (2002): 93-105.

The following simply associate the language of the text with Sam'al/Y'dy. If they have dated the inscription, their date will be listed after their name: L. A. Bange, ninth-century (*A Study of the Use of the Vowel-Letters in Alphabetic Consonantal Writing c. 1700 B.C. to 500 B. C.* [Munich, 1961], 62-62); C. F. Jean and J. Hoftijzer (*Dictionnaire des inscriptions sémitiques de l'ouest* [Leiden: Brill, 1965], VII); R. Garr (*Dialect Geography of Syria-Palestine, 1000-586 B.C.* [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1985], 82, 102, 135, 173). P.-E. Dion says that Sam'alian becomes independent of Aramaic in c.1000 BCE. He dates the Kilamuwa sheath to c.850 BCE ("Kilamuwa ("G")," in *La Langue de Ya'udi: Description et classement de l'ancien parler de Zincirli dans le cadre des langues sémitique du nord-ouest* [Waterloo: The Corporation for the Publication of Academic Studies in Religion in Canada, 1974], 26; "The Language Spoken in Ancient Sam'al," *JNES* 37 [1978]: 115-18); J. Tropper, last third of the eighth century BCE (*Die Inschriften von Zincirli: Neue Edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, sam'alischen und aramäischen Textkorpus* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1993], especially 47-53, 282).

Gibson (III:14) says the Kilamuwa sheath inscription is written in "an Aramaic dialect with Phoenician orthography."

The following classify the language as Phoenician. If they have dated the inscription, their date will be listed after their name: B. Landsberger (*Sam'al: Karatepe Harabelerin Keşfi İle İlgili Araştırmalar* [Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1948], 42); J. Friedrich, c.850 BCE (*Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [1<sup>st</sup> ed.; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1951], 153-62; *Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1970]), ¶63b, 174, 176. However, this inscription is not listed among the Phoenician corpus in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of this text: J. Friedrich and W. Röllig, *Phonizisch-punische Grammatik* [3<sup>rd</sup> ed.; Rome: Pontificio Instituto Biblico, 1999]); Naveh, end of the ninth century BCE (*Development*, 10); F. Bron, end of the eighth century (*Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe* [Geneva: Droz, 1979], 158).

<sup>664</sup> Dupont-Sommer says the script is the same as that found in the Kilamuwa stele ("Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou," 20).

<sup>665</sup> A. Lemaire dates the sheath to the second half of the ninth century ("SMR dans la petite inscription de Kilamuwa [Zencirli]," *Syria* 67 [1990]: 323-27).

<sup>666</sup> Von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102, Pl. 47.

<sup>667</sup> Dupont-Sommer, "Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou," 19-33.

inscription can be found in A. Lemaire.<sup>668</sup> Additional images are available in Lemaire<sup>669</sup> and in K. Gallig.<sup>670</sup>

Transliteration:

1. smr z qn
2. klmw
3. br ḥy
4. lrbk'l
5. ytn lh r
6. kb'l
7. 'rk ḥy

Translation:

1. This *smr*,<sup>671</sup> made
2. Kilamuwa,
3. son of Ḥay(ya'),<sup>672</sup>
4. for Rakib-'El.
5. & 6. May Rakib-'El grant him
7. length of life.

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<sup>668</sup> Lemaire, "SMR dans la petite inscription de Kilamuwa," 323-27. See also H. Th. Bossert and H. Çambel, *Karatepe: A Preliminary Report on a New Hittite Site* (Istanbul: Üniversite Basimevi, 1946), especially Pl. XIII.

<sup>669</sup> Lemaire, "SMR dans la petite inscription de Kilamuwa," 327.

<sup>670</sup> K. Gallig, "The Scepter of Wisdom: A Note on the Gold Sheath of Zandjirli and Ecclesiastes 12:11," in *BASOR* 119 (1950): 15-18. The drawing in Gallig has been copied from von Luschan (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102).

<sup>671</sup> For the various translations proposed for this word and the following see Lemaire, "SMR dans la petite inscription de Kilamuwa," 323-27.

<sup>672</sup> The longer version of this name is taken from the Kilamuwa stele that was studied in the previous chapter on Phoenician-script.

### Significant Palaeographic Features:

The letter forms of the Kilamuwa sheath, as the previous inscriptions, tend toward counterclockwise rotation, e.g., *'alep*, *bet*, *he*, *zayin*, *het*, *yod*,<sup>673</sup> *kap*, *mem*, *samek*, *qop*, and *resh*. Furthermore, the forms of *'alep*, *he*, *zayin*, and *kap* aid in dating this inscription palaeographically.<sup>674</sup>

**The vertical shaft of *'alep* and the spine of *he* are long**, as in some of the examples in the Hazael booty inscriptions. ***He* appears to have four bars, though this is difficult to determine in the published photographs.**<sup>675</sup>

***Zayin* is I-shaped**, as in the Gozan, Arslan Tash, and Nimrud inscriptions.

**The tail of *kap* is long**, as in the Tel Dan stele. Also, as mentioned above, throughout the ninth-eighth centuries, ***kap*'s head breaks down. Its left prong breaks away from the rest of its head and slides up its middle prong.**<sup>676</sup> This is the form seen in the Kilamuwa sheath, and this becomes the standard form of *kap* in the eighth-century (in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions).

### The Bir-Hadad Melqart (Bureij) Stele (Fig. 25)

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<sup>673</sup> Note that the drawing in von Luschan does not correctly represent the head of *yod* in line seven (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102).

<sup>674</sup> Dupont-Sommer draws *taw* as more x-shaped ("Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou," 21). It is more +-shaped. The drawing in von Luschan depicts *taw* with a shorter horizontal arm on the left side (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102). To my eye, the arm appears to be the same length on both sides of the vertical stroke.

<sup>675</sup> Though four-barred *hes* appear frequently in the Hebrew script in the early Iron II period, this is idiosyncratic for Aramaic *he* during this time (cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>676</sup> Von Luschan (*Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*. Vol. 5, 102), Dupont-Sommer ("Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou," 21), and Attardo ("Utilità della paleografia," 89-143) do not represent the development of *kap*'s head in their drawings. In this inscription, *kap*'s right prong has broken away from the rest of the head and begun to slide up its middle prong.

Also, note that the *kap* in line 6 has a slightly different form, a form that is occasionally seen in Phoenician inscriptions in the eighth century (and becomes the dominant form of Hebrew *kap* in the seventh century). In this form, the middle head prong has broken away from the rest of the head and has begun to slide up the left prong. The typical form of *kap* in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions beginning in the late ninth century, and especially in the eighth, is that described in the previous paragraph, and three of the four *kaps* in this inscription have this form. Dupont-Sommer draws this *kap* as if it were formed as the others in this inscription ("Une inscription nouvelle du roi Kilamou," 21). No published images provide a clear view of this letter.

The Bir-Hadad Melqart (Bureij) stele (*KAI* 201; Gibson II:I) (hereafter Melqart stele) was discovered in 1939, in Bureij, Syria, near Aleppo. It was found in secondary use as part of a Roman wall. The stele, which bears both a relief and a five-line inscription, measures 1.15 x 0.43 m and is carved on gray basalt stone. The inscription is complete and legible, except for the end of line two, which is badly effaced. The stele is housed in the National Museum in Aleppo.<sup>677</sup>

The stele is votive, set up for the Phoenician god Melqart, patron deity of Tyre, who is depicted in relief above the inscription.<sup>678</sup> It was erected by “Bir-Hadad . . . King of Aram,” but because the patronymic of Bir-Hadad, found at the end of line two, is difficult to read, the identity of this Bir-Hadad and the particular Aramaean region over which he reigned is not known for certain. Scholars have proposed various identifications for the father of Bir-Hadad, and thereby, for the area of Aram over which he ruled. Early readings associate this Bir-Hadad with Aram-Damascus.<sup>679</sup>

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<sup>677</sup> Gibson II:I; W. T. Pitard, “The Melqart Stela, (2.33)” in *COS* 2, 152-53.

<sup>678</sup> This stele suggests there was some type of relationship between the Aramaean region around Aleppo and Phoenicia in the second half of the ninth-early eighth century. This relationship was likely commercial. For further discussion see, W. F. Albright Jr., “A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I of Damascus to the God Melcarth,” *BASOR* 87 (1942): 23-29; M. Dunand, “Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” *Bulletin de Musée de Beyrouth* 3 (1939): 65-76; idem, “A propos de la stèle de Melqart du musée d’Alep,” *Bulletin de Musée de Beyrouth* 6 (1942-43): 41-45; E. Lipiński, “La Fête de l’Ensevelissement et de la Résurrection de Melqart,” in *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Bruxelles 30 juin-4 juillet 1969* (A. Finet, ed.; Ham-sur-Heure, 1970): 30-58; Gibson, II:I, p.2; W. T. Pitard, “The Identity of the Bir-Hadad of the Melqart Stela,” *BASOR* 272 (1988): 13-16; idem, “The Melqart Stela,” 153; É. Puech, “La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart et les rois d’Arpad,” *RB* 99 (1992): 328. For a discussion of the art historical aspects of this relief, see W. Culican, “Melqart Representations on Phoenician Seals,” *Abr-Nahrain* 2 (1960): 41-54, Pls. I-II; Gibson (II:I, p.1); G. G. Reinhold, “The Bir-Hadad Stele and the Biblical Kings of Aram,” *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 24 (1986): 123-24; Pitard, “The Identity of the Bir-Hadad,” 13-16; idem, “The Melqart Stela,” 153; Puech, “La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 311-12, 328.

<sup>679</sup> Most scholars attempt to identify the Bir-Hadad of this stele with one of the Ben-Hadads of Damascus from the Hebrew Bible. The way each scholar reads the patronymic of Bir-Hadad at the end of line two effects his understanding of who this Bir-Hadad might be. Dunand is not certain how to read the damaged patronymic but identifies Bir-Hadad with Ben-Hadad of 1 Kings 20 (“Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 65-76). Albright reads “Bir-Hadad, son of Tâb-Rammân, son of Ḥadyân” at the end of line two and identifies Bir-Hadad with Ben-Hadad I of 1 Kings 15, whom he also equates with Ben-Hadad of 1 Kings 20. He dates the inscription palaeographically to c.850 BCE, and this especially influences his identification of Bir-Hadad (“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I,” 23-29). Gibson likewise identifies the Bir-Hadad of this stele with Ben-Hadad of Damascus of 1 Kings 15 and 20 (II:I, p.1). J. Starcky prefers an identification with Ben-Hadad, the contemporary of Basha of Israel (in M. Dupont-Sommer and J. Starcky, “Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré,” in *Mémoires presents oar duvers savabts à l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres XV* [Paris, 1958], 331 n. 1). B. Mazar identifies Bir-Hadad as Ben-Hadad II (“The Aramean Empire and Its Relations with Israel,” *BA* 25 [1962]: 97-120). J. M. Miller (J. A. Dearman and J. M. Miller, “The Melqart Stele and the Ben Hadads of Damascus: Two Studies,” *PEQ* 115 [1983]: 100-1) and Naveh (*Development*, 7; cf. idem, *Early History*, 80) suggest that Ben Hadad, son of Hazael, should be considered as a possible identity for Bir-Hadad in this stele. A. Lemaire (“La stèle araméenne de Barhadad,” *Or* 53 [1984]: 337-49) identifies this Bir-Hadad with the Bar-Hadad of the Zakkur stele, whom he refers to as Ben-Hadad II. Initially, É. Lipiński said this Bir-Hadad was Ben-Hadad II, the son of Hazael of Damascus, who fought against Zakkur of Hamath (“Attar-hapēš, the Forefather of Bar-Hadad II,” *Annali dell’Istituto Orientale di Napoli* 21 NS [1971]: 101-4). However, he has abandoned this view, partially influenced by Cross’s reading of the stele in 1972 (see below) and reads the patronymic



However, the most recent studies, especially the work of W. Pitard based on his new, on-site collations of the inscription, along with his newly-produced photographs, have provided new readings for the name of Bir-Hadad's father, either *'trhmk* or *'trsmk*, and these readings associate Bir-Hadad with a north Syrian location, possibly Arpad.<sup>680</sup>

The stele was first published by M. Dunand.<sup>681</sup> A history of scholarship and bibliography for the inscription can be found in Gibson,<sup>682</sup> Pitard,<sup>683</sup> É. Puech,<sup>684</sup> and Fitzmyer and Kaufman.<sup>685</sup> Good

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of Bir-Hadad as "son of 'Idrī-Šamš, who was the father of (the king of Aram)" and argues that Bir-Hadad is the brother of Hazael of Damascus, and the uncle of Ben-Hadad II ("Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions," in *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics I* [Leuven: Leuven University, 1975], 15-23). Cross reads "son of 'Ezer ('Idr, the Damascene" and identifies Bir-Hadad as crown prince Ben-Hadad (III), son of 'Ezer (Hadad-'ezer = Ben-Hadad II) of Damascus ("The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth," 36-42 = *Leaves*, 173-77). He is followed by Reinhold ("The Bir-Hadad Stele," 115-26). W. H. Shea reads "Bar-Hadad, son of 'Idr of Damascus, son of Rimmon" at the end of line two and identifies Bir-Hadad as Ben-Hadad II of the Battle of Qarqar ("The Kings of the Melqart Stele," *MAARAV* 1/2 [1978-79]: 159-76). A. Malamat says "The stele . . . seems to refer to one of the later Ben-Hadads, both of whom were of considerable influence to the north . . ." ("The Arameans," in *Peoples of Old Testament Times* [D. J. Wiseman, ed.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1973], 143 n.24). However, he makes this claim regarding influence in the north of Aram by a Ben-Hadad of Damascus based on this stele. Donner and Röllig say the stele might have been erected by a servant of "the king of Aram," and not by the king himself. They do not believe the Bir-Hadad of this stele is either Ben-Hadad I or II (*KAI* 201, p.203-4).

<sup>680</sup> So Pitard, who reads "*'trhmk*" (*Ancient Damascus: A Historical Study of the Syrian City-State from Earliest Times until its Fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E.* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987], 141-44; idem, "The Identity of the Bir-Hadad," 3-17; idem, "The Melqart Stela," 152). See also Puech who reads "*'trsmk*" and suggests this Bir-Hadad is the king of Arpad-Bît-(A)Gusi, a contemporary of Zakkur of Hamath and of Bir-Hadad III of Damascus ("La stele de Bar-Hadad à Melqart," 311-35; cf., idem, "La stèle araméenne de Dan," 230 n.44). P. Bordreuil and J. Teixidor connect the Bir-Hadad of this stele with Aram-Zobah and the biblical Hadad-ezer; they read the patronymic of Bir-Hadad's father as "*'ezr' mlk . br rhb*" ("Nouvel examen de l'inscription de Bar-Hadad," *AuOr* 1 [1983]: 271-76).

<sup>681</sup> Dunand, "Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart," 65-76.

<sup>682</sup> Gibson II:I.

<sup>683</sup> Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, 138-44; idem, "The Identity of the Bir-Hadad," 3-21; idem, "The Melqart Stela," 152-53.

<sup>684</sup> Puech, "La stele de Bar-Hadad à Melqart," 311-34.

<sup>685</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 11, B.1.1.

photographs can be found in Pitard<sup>686</sup> and especially on InscriptiFact.<sup>687</sup> The inscription's Phoenician script dates palaeographically to the second half of the ninth-early eighth century.<sup>688</sup>

Transliteration:

1. nšb' | zy | śm brh?<sup>689</sup>

2. dd |<sup>690</sup> br 'trh/smk [ ]<sup>691</sup>

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<sup>686</sup> W. Pitard, "Find the Hidden Picture," in *Puzzling out the Past: Making Sense of Ancient Inscriptions from Biblical Times* (B. Zuckerman, ed.; Glendale: Griffin Printing & Lithograph for West Semitic Research, 1987), 11-16. I was unable to visit Syria during the summer of 2011, when collating inscriptions for this study. However, Pitard graciously made available to me the high-quality images that he produced during his own collation of the inscription in Aleppo.

<sup>687</sup> InscriptiFact, n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com). These photographs were taken by Pitard when he collated this inscription in 1985. (See also Pitard, "The Identity of the Bir-Hadad," 3-21).

<sup>688</sup> So also Pitard, who dates the text to the second half of the ninth-first quarter of the eighth century, c.850-780 BCE; he follows Cross (see reference below) and regards the script as Aramaic ("The Identity of the Bir-Hadad," 9, 15; idem, "The Melqart Stela," 152). Layton and Pardee date the text to 850-775 BCE ("Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria," 176).

Other scholars date the text in the following way:

Near the mid ninth-century: Gibson, c.860 BCE (II:I); Albright, c.850 BCE, between 875-825 ("A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I," 23-29); Naveh, mid-ninth century (*Early History*, 80); Haines, c.850 ("Paleographical Study," 35, Pl. I); Cross classifies the script as Aramaic and dates it to c.850 BCE, plus or minus a decade ("The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth," 36, 39-40 = *Leaves*, 173-75); Driver, c.850 or "a little after" (*Semitic Writing*, 119-20); Reinhold, second half of the ninth century, c.850-840 BCE ("The Bir-Hadad Stele," 123).

Tropper says the text is hard to date precisely because of variations in form, but the first half of the ninth century is ruled out ("Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," 401 n.16). McCarter dates it to the second half of the ninth century (*Ancient Inscriptions*, 94).

Late ninth-early eighth century: Dunand, late ninth-early eighth century ("Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart," 75-76); Lemaire, c. 800 BCE ("La stèle araméenne de Barhadad," 339-40). Starcky dates it to the early eighth century (in Dupont-Sommer and Starcky, "Les inscriptions araméennes de Sfiré," 135 n.1). Lipiński first dated the stèle to the early eighth century BCE, following Starcky ("La Fête de l'Ensevelissement," 30-58; idem, "Attar-hapēš, the Forefather of Bar-Hadad II," 101-4); however, he most recently dates it to the end of the ninth century, c.810 ("Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions," 18). Puech dates the text to c.800, beginning of the eighth century ("La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart," 325; cf. idem, "La stèle araméenne de Dan," 230 n.44). E. Lipiński, c.800 BCE ("Phoenician in Anatolia," in *Itineraria Phoenicia* [Dudley, Mass.: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Oosterse Studies, 2004], 115).

<sup>689</sup> At the end of line one, Dunand reads "brh?" ("Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart," 73). Albright ("A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I," 35), Bordreuil and Teixidor ("Nouvel Examen de l'Inscription de Bar-Hadad," 271-73), and Fitzmyer and Kaufman (*Aramaic Bibliography*, 11) read "brh" and nothing after it. The 1964 edition of *KAI 201* reads "br[h]" (37); the 2002 edition reads "br.h" (45). Cross ("The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth," 36-38 = *Leaves*, 174), Lipiński ("Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions," 16), and Reinhold ("The Bir-Hadad Stele," 120) read "br.h". Shea draws the trace of a line after the *resh*, but he does not transliterate this as a word divider. After this trace he reads a *he* ("The Kings of the Melqart Stele," 166). Pitard reads the sequence of traces after the *resh* as *he*, possibly followed by a *dalet* ("The Identity of the Bir-Hadad," 4-5). (Pitard reads simply a *he* after the *resh* in *Ancient Damascus*, 138). It looks as if the scribe might have begun a *dalet* after the *he*, but it is not certain. Puech says that if the trace following the *he* were a *dalet* it would sit rather high on the line and that the *he* would be quite small in comparison. He understands the marks as some type of scribal correction ("La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart," 315-17).

<sup>690</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman do not read a word divider here (*Aramaic Bibliography*, 11).

<sup>691</sup> The area after *br* in line two of the stèle is the most badly worn and difficult part of the text to read. The *'ayin* and *taw* are certain. The *resh* is less so. The letter after the *resh* is either *he* or *samek*. The *mem* and *kap* are certain. There appear to be traces of letter forms after the *kap*. The first of these is likely a word divider. It is not clear what the rest of the letters are.

3. mlk 'rm<sup>692</sup> lmr'h<sup>693</sup> lmlq<sup>694</sup>r
4. t |<sup>695</sup> zy nzm<sup>696</sup> lh<sup>697</sup> wšm' <sup>698</sup> lq<sup>699</sup>l<sup>700</sup>
5. h

Translation:<sup>701</sup>

1. The stele which, set up, Bir-Ha-
2. dad, son of Attar-hamek/samek .....

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Scholars have proposed various readings for this area of the inscription. In 1939, Dunand read “‘b-pš.---b?” (“Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 69, 73). However in 1942, he said the first three letters might be “‘tr” (“A propos de la stèle de Melqart du muse d’Alep,” 42). Albright transliterates “‘tbr[m]n [b]r. hzy[n]” (“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I,” 25) and the drawing in Driver reads “‘tbrmn br. hzyn” (*Semitic Writing*, 120). The 1964 edition of *KAI* 201 does not offer a reading (37); the 2002 edition reads “hzyn br.” (47). Lipiński first gave three possible readings: “‘mdb” and “‘trhps. XXXb” and “‘b” (“Attar-hapēš, the Forefather of Bar-Hadad II,” 103) and then settled on “‘zršmš zy. ‘b” (“Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions,” 16). Cross reads “‘zr[.]dmšqy’ b[r]” (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 37 = *Leaves*, 174). (Note that for the 2003 version of his article, Cross [“The Stele Dedicated to Melqart,” in *Leaves*, 174] examined Pitard’s new photographs [“The Identity of the Bir-Hadad,” 3-21]. After examining these photographs, Cross maintained his 1972 reading and understanding of the text [“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 37]). Gibson reads “‘tbr[m]n br [hz]yn” or “‘zr. dmšqy[.] b[r]” (II:I, p.3). Shea reads “‘zr dmšq brmn” (“The Kings of the Melqart Stele,” 166). Bordreuil and Teixidor read “‘zr’ mlk. br hhb” (“Nouvel Examen de l’Inscription de Bar-Hadad,” 271-73). Reinhold reads “‘zr. dmšqy ‘br” (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120). Pitard reads “‘trhmk. [ ]” (*Ancient Damascus*, 141-43; idem, “The Identity of the Bir-Hadad,” 4-8; idem, “The Melqart Stela,” 152). Puech reads “‘trsmk. br hddm[?]” (“La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 315-20). Fitzmyer and Kaufman read “‘trsmk” (*Aramaic Bibliography*, 11).

<sup>692</sup> Cross (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 37 = *Leaves*, 174), Lipiński (“Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions,” 16), Reinhold (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120), and Puech (“La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 315-16) read a word divider here.

<sup>693</sup> Gibson (II:I, p.3) and Puech (“La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 315-16) read a word divider here.

<sup>694</sup> Dunand does not draw a word divider here but reads one in his transcription (“Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 69, 73; “A propos de la stèle de Melqart du muse d’Alep,” 41).

<sup>695</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman do not read a word divider here (*Aramaic Bibliography*, 11).

<sup>696</sup> Reinhold (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120) and Puech (“La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 315-16) read a word divider here.

<sup>697</sup> Puech reads a word divider here (“La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 315-16).

<sup>698</sup> Cross (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 38-39 = *Leaves*, 174), Lipiński (“Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions,” 16), Reinhold (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120), Gibson (II:I, p.3), and Puech (“La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 315-16) read a word divider here.

<sup>699</sup> The 1964 edition of *KAI* 201 does not read the *qop* (37), but the 2002 edition does (47).

<sup>700</sup> After the *qop* Dunand draws only a word divider but reads “‘l” in his transcription (“Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 69, 73; “A propos de la stèle de Melqart du muse d’Alep,” 41). The 1964 edition of *KAI* 201 does not read the *lamed* (37), but the 2002 edition does (47).

<sup>701</sup> This translation is based on that of Pitard (*Ancient Damascus*, 138-44; idem, “The Identity of the Bir-Hadad,” 3-21; idem, “The Melqart Stela,” 152-53).

3. King of Aram, for his lord, Melqar-

4-5. t, to whom he made a vow and who heard his voice.

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:

Like the previous inscriptions, the letter forms of the Melqart stele tend toward counterclockwise rotation, as seen in *'alep, bet, dalet, he, zayin,*<sup>702</sup> *yod, kap, mem, sade, qop,* and *resh.*<sup>703</sup> Additionally, the forms of *'alep, dalet, he, zayin,* and *kap* are important for determining the palaeographic date of this text. Furthermore, the letter *'ayin* requires comment.<sup>704</sup>

In the Melqart stele, *'alep, dalet, he, and zayin* are in transition.<sup>705</sup> **Both short- and long-stemmed examples of *'alep, dalet,*<sup>706</sup> and *he* are found in the inscription** (note that *dalet* can still

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<sup>702</sup> There are both upright and rotated forms of *zayin* in the Melqart stele. This letter typically exhibits counterclockwise rotation in ninth-century Aramaic inscriptions.

<sup>703</sup> When Pitard observes the minor variations in stance of the letters *bet, dalet,* and *resh* within this inscription, he states that the scribe of the Melqart stele is not “particularly accomplished or consistent” (“The Identity of the Bir-Hadad,” 6). However, I would argue that the degree of variation in stance of the various examples of these letters is miniscule. On the contrary, the fact that all examples of these letters show counterclockwise rotation to some degree is actually a mark of consistency. For, while most letters in the Phoenician script have a tendency for counterclockwise rotation in the ninth-eighth centuries, this is a period of transition, and some upright examples still occur.

<sup>704</sup> Also note the following observations on *he, mem, qop,* and *resh* in this inscription. Dunand (“Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 69) and Albright (“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I,” 25) draw three of the four examples of *he* as if their vertical shafts penetrate their top horizontal bars. The drawing in Driver depicts two of the four in this way (*Semitic Writing*, 120). (This is likely what leads Albright to call this *he* “archaic” [“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I,” 27]). Puech (“La stèle araméenne de Dan,” 232) and Tropper (“Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan,” 400) draw *qop* as if its vertical shaft penetrates its head. Cross draws *he, qop,* and *resh* as if their vertical shafts penetrate their heads (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” [1972], 38; idem, “Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual,” 405 = *Leaves*, 59; cf. idem, “Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” [1969], 15). Looking at Pitard’s new photographs, I am disinclined to see the penetration of the vertical shafts proposed by these scholars.

Cross states that while most of the *he*’s in the Melqart stele are “box-like forms,” the *he* in line five is “round-shouldered” (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 40 = *Leaves*, 175). He is followed by Reinhold (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 121-23). Lipiński also says some Melqart *he*’s, especially the one in line five, are round-shouldered (“Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions,” 18). The *he* in line five of the Melqart stele is heavily abraded and difficult to see. I believe any appearance of “roundness” of the shoulder is likely due to this abrasion. Cf. the discussion of round versus angular head shapes in the Methodology chapter.

The drawing in Driver incorrectly depicts *mem* in the Melqart stele (*Semitic Writing*, 120). The form is not so advanced.

<sup>705</sup> Cf. the discussion of a transition period in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>706</sup> Cross says the Melqart *dalet* has a short tail that is “characteristic of the Aramaic series throughout the ninth century, and is not to be compared with Phoenician, Hebrew, and Moabite scripts where the *delta*-form persists—In Phoenician and Hebrew into the eighth century” (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 39 = *Leaves*, 175). This is not true of Phoenician, as both the Phoenician late tenth-early ninth century ‘Abda sherd and the ninth-century Honeyman inscription *dalets* both have short stems. Interestingly, Cross, himself, draws the Honeyman *dalet* with a short stem in his 1969 article on the Amman Citadel inscription (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” 15). Also, the newly-discovered Tel Rehov

be clearly distinguished from *resh*). **Two of the three examples of *zayin* are I-shaped, while the third has the transitional form** seen in the Tel Dan and Samos inscriptions.<sup>707</sup>

**The head of *kap* has broken down, as in the Kilamuwa sheath. Its left prong has begun to slide up its middle prong.**<sup>708</sup>

**The Melqart stele ‘*ayin* has the typical ninth-century Phoenician form. It is round and is smaller than surrounding letters.** Some scholars believe that the ‘*ayin* is dotted in the Melqart stele.<sup>709</sup> However, others do not.<sup>710</sup> In 1987, Pitard stated that the ‘*ayin* was not dotted;<sup>711</sup> however, in his 1988 publication, after collating and photographing the inscription in the National Museum in

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fragments reveal that Hebrew *dalet* also began to develop a short stem during the ninth century (discussed further in the following chapter).

<sup>707</sup> Albright draws tick marks on the upper left corners of the *zayin* (“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I,” 25, 27). I do not see tick marks in Pitard’s new photographs.

Lemaire says that the I-shaped *zayin* is found in the Hazael ivories, which he dates to the second half of the ninth century, and in the Sefire inscriptions, which he dates to the first half of the eighth century. He says that the z-shaped *zayin* is not seen before the Zakkur inscription, which he dates to the second half of the eighth century. Therefore, on the basis of the transitional form of *zayin* in the Melqart inscription, he dates this inscription to c.800 (“La stèle araméenne de Barhadad,” 340). However, Lemaire made this statement before the discovery of the Tel Dan stele, which has a *zayin* in transitional form. The Tel Dan discovery, along with the transitional form of *zayin* in the Hazael Samos piece, widens the date range for the Melqart stele.

Shea (“The Kings of the Melqart Stele,” 166), Bordreuil and Teixidor (“Nouvel Examen de l’Inscription de Bar-Hadad,” 273), and Reinhold (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120) draw the first *zayin* in line four as a completely evolved z-shape. After examining Pitard’s newer photographs of the inscription, I believe the form is still in transition between the I- and z-shape.

Regarding the Melqart stele, Miller says, “If a single scribe in the course of a brief five-line inscription could alternate between ‘archaic’ (I-shaped) and ‘developed’ (z-shaped) forms, surely this raises questions about the usefulness of this particular typological feature for dating purposes” (Dearman and Miller, “The Melqart Stele and the Ben Hadads of Damascus,” 98). On the contrary, this feature is particularly useful, because it captures the period of time in which the letter *zayin* was in transition. (So also, Dunand, “Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 75.) Cf. the discussions of formal and cursive script expressions, scribal ductus, and dual forms/by-forms/allophorms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>708</sup> Dunand’s drawing of *kap* in line four (“Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 69, 76) is anomalous. Albright (“A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I,” 25), Cross (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 38-40 = *Leaves*, 175), Shea (“The Kings of the Melqart Stele,” 166), Reinhold (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120), and Tropper (“Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan,” 400) draw the *kap* with all three prongs branching off from the same mid-point. (Note that Cross does not include *kap* on his script chart of the Bir-Hadad stele in his article on the Tell Fakhariyah stele [“Palaeography and the Date,” 405 = *Leaves*, 59]). However, Pitard’s new photographs reveal a developed form of *kap* in the Melqart inscription. The drawing in Driver depicts *kap* incorrectly (*Semitic Writing*, 120). The form is not so advanced.

<sup>709</sup> Cross, “The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 1972, 38; Lipiński (following Cross), “Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions,” 16; Shea, “The Kings of the Melqart Stele,” 166; Attardo, “Utilità della paleografia,” 128.

<sup>710</sup> Dunand, “Stèle araméenne dédiée à Melqart,” 69; Bordreuil and Teixidor, “Nouvel Examen de l’Inscription de Bar-Hadad,” 273; Puech, “La stèle de Bar-Hadad à Melqart,” 316-17, 325.

<sup>711</sup> Pitard, “Find the Hidden Picture,” 14.

Aleppo, he says that it might be dotted, but he is not certain,<sup>712</sup> as the dot(s) in question might simply be a pock mark(s) on the stone.<sup>713</sup> A dotted *‘ayin* is quite an archaic form and is not expected in the ninth century, as it is not present in any of the other ninth-century Aramaic or Phoenician inscriptions.<sup>714</sup> Therefore, I regard any dot(s) within the Melqart *‘ayin(s)* as simply more of the many very similar pock marks on the stone.

## The Cursive Corpus

### The ‘Ein Gev Jar (Fig. 26)

The ‘Ein Gev jar (Gibson II:3) was discovered in 1961, during preliminary excavations of ‘Ein Gev led by B. Mazar. It was found in Stratum III, which the excavators date to the ninth century. The jar is made of brown clay and stands approximately 41.5 cm high. It bears an inscription, incised before firing, on its shoulder.<sup>715</sup> It is now located in the Israel Museum (IDAM, No.61-655).<sup>716</sup>

The inscription was published, along with a good photograph, by Mazar.<sup>717</sup> For further bibliography see Fitzmyer and Kaufman.<sup>718</sup> Its Phoenician script dates to the ninth century.<sup>719</sup>

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<sup>712</sup> Reinhold also says the *‘ayin* is possibly dotted (“The Bir-Hadad Stele,” 120-23).

<sup>713</sup> Pitard, “The Identity of the Bir-Hadad,” 4-5.

<sup>714</sup> The dotted *‘ayin* is typically not seen in the Northwest Semitic epigraphic record later than the eleventh century. It is, however, present in the archaizing script of the ninth-century Tell Fakhariyah inscription.

<sup>715</sup> B. Mazar et al., “‘Ein Gev: Excavations in 1961,” *IEJ* 14 (1964): 1-49, Pl. 13; especially 24-32, 42-43, Pl. 13; Gibson II:3.

<sup>716</sup> The jar is not currently on display in the Israel Museum; it is in storage. Note also the reference to this piece in R. Hestrin et al., *Inscriptions Reveal: Documents from the Time of the Bible, the Mishna, and the Talmud*. Catalogue no. 100 (rev. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1973), 58, 129, #122.

<sup>717</sup> Mazar et al., “‘Ein Gev,” 1-49, Pl. 13. I was unable to see this inscription during the summer of 2011, when collating inscriptions for this study. However, Mazar’s published image of the piece is of high quality and allows for a palaeographic analysis of its script.

<sup>718</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 11-12, B.1.2.

<sup>719</sup> Mazar et al. date the inscription archaeologically and palaeographically to the mid-ninth century (“‘Ein Gev,” 1-49, Pl. 13). Haines (“Paleographical Study,” 33, Pl.I) and J. Naveh (“Old Aramaic Inscriptions [1960-1965],” *Annali dell’istituto orientale di Napoli* 16 [1966]: 19; idem, “Inscriptions of the Biblical Period,” *Recent Archaeology in the Land of Israel* [1984]: 564; idem, “Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek,” 106 = *Studies*, 97) date it palaeographically to the ninth

Transliteration:

lšqy'

Translation:

(Belonging) to the cup-bearer(s).

Significant Palaeographical Features:

All letter forms within this inscription closely match Phoenician ninth-century forms. Only 'alep is particularly diagnostic. Its vertical shaft is short, as in the Tel Dan and Nimrud inscriptions (so also some examples in the Eretria plate and Melqart stele). As the text was inscribed on the shoulder of a jar, letter stance is not especially helpful for the palaeographic analysis of this inscription.<sup>720</sup>

### **The Tel Dan Bowl (Fig. 27)**

The Tel Dan bowl (Gibson II:4) was discovered during the 1960s in a trench at Tel Dan (Tell el-Qadi). The bowl, along with other pottery sherds, was found by David Amir, a member of Kibbutz Dan and an amateur archaeologist. The bulk of these sherds are dated by archaeologists to the ninth-eighth centuries BCE. When found, the bowl was broken into three pieces but is now restored. It is made of pottery, described by N. Avigad as “reddish ware, light brown core.”<sup>721</sup> Its base measures 10.5 cm in diameter and bears both an inscription, incised after firing, and a decorative five-point

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century. Gibson dates the script to the first half of the ninth century (II:3). Cross gives a date in the second quarter of the ninth century (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḡariyeh Bilingual,” 394 = *Leaves*, 51; “Stele Dedicated to Melqart [2003], 173-74). Sass dates it to c.800 (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 84). Cryer prefers an eighth-century date (“Of Epistemology,” 9-11).

<sup>720</sup> Cf. the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>721</sup> N. Avigad, “An Inscribed Bowl from Tel Dan,” *PEQ* 100 (1968): 42.

star.<sup>722</sup> It was last on display in Beit Ussishkin at Kibbutz Dan (IDAM, No.69-5520). It was stolen in 2001.<sup>723</sup>

The inscription was first published, along with a good photograph, by Avigad.<sup>724</sup> For further bibliography see P. K. McCarter<sup>725</sup> and Fitzmyer and Kaufman.<sup>726</sup> Its Phoenician script dates to the mid-ninth—early eighth century.<sup>727</sup>

Transliteration:

lṭb[h]y'

Translation:<sup>728</sup>

(Belonging) to the butch[er]s (or cooks).

Significant Palaeographical Features:

All letter forms within this inscription closely match Phoenician ninth-century forms. Only 'alep is particularly diagnostic.<sup>729</sup> Its vertical shaft is long, as in the Arslan Tash ivory, Samos plate,

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<sup>722</sup> Avigad, "An Inscribed Bowl from Tel Dan," 42-44, Pl. XVIII; Gibson II:4.

<sup>723</sup> This was confirmed by the Israel Antiquities Authority in December 2012. Note also the reference to this piece in Hestrin et al, *Inscriptions Reveal*, 58, 130, #123.

<sup>724</sup> Avigad, "An Inscribed Bowl from Tel Dan," 42-44, Pl. XVIII. Avigad's published image of the bowl is of high quality and allows for a palaeographic analysis of its script.

<sup>725</sup> P. K. McCarter Jr., "The Tel Dan Bowl (2.87)," in *COS* 2, 223.

<sup>726</sup> Fitzmyer and Kaufman, *Aramaic Bibliography*, 12, B.1.3.

<sup>727</sup> Avigad dates the piece to the ninth-early eighth century ("An Inscribed Bowl from Tel Dan," 42-44, Pl. XVIII). Naveh dates it palaeographically to the ninth century ("Inscriptions of the Biblical Period," 64; *idem*, "Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek," 106 = *Studies*, 97). Gibson dates the script to the first half of the ninth century (II:4). Cross gives a date in the second quarter of the ninth century ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual," 394 = *Leaves*, 51; "Stele Dedicated to Melqart [2003], 173-74). Sass dates it to c.800 (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 84). Cryer prefers an eighth-century date ("Of Epistemology," 9-11).

<sup>728</sup> This translation follows that of McCarter, "The Tel Dan Bowl (2.87)," 223.

<sup>729</sup> Cryer ("Of Epistemology," 9), when discussing the 'Ein Gev jar and the Tel Dan bowl, criticizes Avigad ("An Inscribed Bowl from Tel Dan," 42-44, Pl. XVIII), claiming that Avigad neglects to perform sufficient palaeographic analysis of the Tel Dan bowl inscription. He states that Avigad "failed to observe that, while *lamedhs* with a sharp angle at



and Kilamuwa sheath (so also some examples in the Eretria plate and Melqart stele). As the text was inscribed around the bottom of a bowl, letter stance is particularly hard to determine and not helpful for the palaeographic analysis of this inscription.<sup>730</sup>

The letter *tet* should be mentioned, as its form is atypical. *Tet* in the ninth-eighth centuries is circular; however, in this inscription its top is rather flat. This idiosyncratic shape should not be considered typologically significant, and it might have arisen from the difficulty of writing on the round bowl or of incising a circular shape in dry clay.<sup>731</sup>

### **The Amman Citadel Inscription (Figs. 15, 28)**

The Amman Citadel inscription (*KAI* 307) was found in 1961, during excavations of the Jebel el-Qala‘ah, the Citadel Mound of Amman, carried out by the Department of Antiquities of Jordan under Assistant Director Rafiq Dajani. It was discovered in an Iron Age level of the remains of the fortifications of Rabbath-Amman and is now housed in the Jordan Archaeological Museum in Amman (J 9000). Made of white, fine-grained limestone, it measures 26 x 19.4 cm at its greatest height and width. Both the right and left sides, as well as the end of the inscription are missing. Enough space exists above the first line of the inscription to indicate that this line is likely the beginning of the text; parts of eight lines remain. A rectangle was cut from the bottom right corner of the piece, probably to prepare the stone for secondary building use, as this cut removed part of the inscription.<sup>732</sup>

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the lower cusp are in fact recorded in a couple of ninth—eighth-century Aramaic inscriptions (namely from Hazor and Hamath), the vast majority of both earlier and later forms are curved, rather than acute, as on the bowl. The acute-angled form is much more common in Phoenician than in Aramaic inscriptions.” However, Cryer is incorrect, as demonstrated below in the palaeographic analysis section of this chapter. The hook of *lamed* may be either sharply angled or curved in the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from the tenth-eighth centuries. No typological significance may be associated with the hook of *lamed* in this period.

<sup>730</sup> Cf. the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>731</sup> Cf. the discussion of scribal media and apptitude in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>732</sup> Aufrecht, *Corpus*, 154-63, #59; S. H. Horn, “The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” *BASOR* 193 (1969): 2-13.

The text is a building inscription,<sup>733</sup> which likely commemorates the construction of a temple, the citadel where it was found,<sup>734</sup> or defenses for the city (and/or some sort of military operation).<sup>735</sup> Additionally, it seems to mention the Ammonite god Milkom.<sup>736</sup> The *editio princeps* of the inscription was published by S. H. Horn in 1969.<sup>737</sup> Further bibliography can be found in W. Aufrecht.<sup>738</sup> Good photographs are available on InscriptiFact.<sup>739</sup> The script of the Amman Citadel inscription is Phoenician. It dates palaeographically to the mid-ninth—early eighth century.<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>733</sup> A. van Selms, “Some Remarks on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscriptions,’” *BO* 32 (1975): 5-8; W. J. Fulco, “The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription: A New Collation,’” *BASOR* 230 (1978): 39-43; Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age*, 11.

<sup>734</sup> Horn, “The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 2-13; Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,’” 13-19 = *Leaves*, 95-99; Puech and Rofé, “Inscription de la Citadelle d’Amman,” 531-46; Puech, “L’inscription de la statue d’Amman,” 5-24; W. H. Shea, “The Architectural Layout of the Amman Citadel Inscription Temple,” *PEQ* 123 (1991): 62-66; cf. idem, “Milkom as the Architect of Rabbath-Ammon’s Natural Defenses in the Amman Citadel Inscription,” *PEQ* 111 (1979): 17-25; idem, “The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” *PEQ* 113 (1981): 105-10.

On a different note, L. Palmaitis suggests the inscription was likely placed near the entrance to a sanctuary, possibly associated with the cult of the dead, and that the inscription might describe internment rituals (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription of the I Millennium B.C.,” *VDI* 118.4 [1971]: 119-26 [in Russian]).

<sup>735</sup> W. F. Albright Jr., “Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,’” *BASOR* 198 (1970): 38-40; R. Kutscher, “A New Inscription from ‘Amman,’” *Qadmoniot* 5.1 (1972): 27-28 (in Hebrew); P.-E. Dion, “Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” *RB* 82 (1975): 24-33; Shea, “Milkom as the Architect of Rabbath-Ammon’s Natural Defenses,” 17-25; idem, “The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105-10; cf. idem, “The Architectural Layout of the Amman Citadel Inscription Temple,” 62-66; V. Sasson, “The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection: Philological and Literary Comments,” *PEQ* 111 (1979): 117-25; Lemaire, “Ammon, Moab, Edom,” 58-59.

<sup>736</sup> It might also simply be the divine element of a theophorous name (Horn, “The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 9). What remains of line one begins with [ *l* *l* *k* *m*. On Milkom see J. B. Snyder, “Did Kemosh Have a Consort (or Any Other Friends)? Re-assessing the Moabite Pantheon,” *UF* 42 (2010): 645-74.

<sup>737</sup> Horn, “The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 2-13.

<sup>738</sup> Aufrecht, *Corpus*, 155-7.

<sup>739</sup> InscriptiFact, n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com). These images were taken by B. Zuckerman and M. Lundberg. In addition, as mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study available on InscriptiFact.

<sup>740</sup> So also van Selms (“Some Remarks,” 8). van der Kooij says that the script of the Amman Citadel inscription “fits in well with the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries BC Aramaic-Phoenician script traditions” (“The Identity,” 109). Sass, second half of the ninth (or early eighth) (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 84); cf. Rollston, “Dating of the Early Royal Byblian Inscriptions,” 57-93.

Before Horn published the *editio princeps* of the Amman Citadel inscription in 1969 (“The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 2-13) the text was identified as Phoenician and dated to the seventh century (“Chronique archéologique” in *RB* 69 [1962], 86). Horn dates the text to c.800, the early eighth century (“The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 8, especially note 14). Lipiński (“Notes on the Bar-Hadad and the Zakir Inscriptions,” 18 n.1), K. R. Veenhof (“De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie,” *Phoenix* 18 [1972]: 175), Puech (“L’inscription de la statue d’Amman,” 10, 18), and Puech and Rofé (“Inscription de la Citadelle d’Amman,” 542 n.32, 544) follow Horn’s dating of the Amman Citadel inscription. However, Puech thinks the script of the Amman Citadel inscription is distinct from that of Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions (“La stèle araméenne de Dan,” 230-31). Lemaire prefers a date in the beginning or middle of the eighth century (“Ammon, Moab, Edom,” 58-59).

## Transliteration:

1. ]lkm | bn<sup>741</sup>h | lk | mb't |<sup>742</sup> sbbt[
2. ] |<sup>743</sup> kkl | msbb<sup>744</sup> '745lk | mt ymtn[
3. ]khd |<sup>746</sup> 'khd<sup>747</sup> w<sup>748</sup>kl<sup>749</sup> m'r<sup>750</sup>b<sup>751</sup>[

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Dion says the Amman Citadel inscription is contemporary with the Mesha inscription ("Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," 33). Naveh dates the text to the ninth century and says it is written in the Aramaic script ("Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek," 106 = *Studies*, 97). (Note that Naveh does not see a distinction between the Phoenician and Aramaic scripts in the ninth century [*Development*, 8].) Cross says the Amman Citadel inscription is an Ammonite text but its script is "a characteristic Aramaic hand of the ninth century BCE" and "belongs to the series of Aramaic lapidary scripts of the ninth century BCE." He dates the text palaeographically to the mid-ninth century, 875-825 B.C. ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 14-17 = *Leaves*, 95-99; idem, "The Stele Dedicated to Melqart," in *Leaves*, 173). Albright also dates the text to the mid-ninth century ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 38). McCarter dates it to the second half of the ninth century (*Ancient Inscriptions*, 94).

<sup>741</sup> Palmaitis reads *mem* ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). This letter is certainly a *nun*.

<sup>742</sup> *KAI* 307 does not read this word divider (p.74).

<sup>743</sup> Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 17 = *Leaves*, 98), van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5), Sasson ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,'" 118), and Shea ("The Amman Citadel Inscription Again," 105) do not read the word divider.

<sup>744</sup> Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 17 = *Leaves*, 98), Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 38), Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120), Veenhof ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 175), van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5), Dion ("Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," 32), Sasson ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,'" 118), Shea ("The Amman Citadel Inscription Again," 105), Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154), and *KAI* 307 (74) read a word divider here. There is none.

<sup>745</sup> Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" [1969], 17), Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 38), Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120), Veenhof ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 175), van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5), Dion ("Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," 32), Sasson ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,'" 118), Shea ("The Amman Citadel Inscription Again," 105), *KAI* 307 (74), and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 357) do not read the '*ayin*'. However, Cross does read the '*ayin*' in "Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" (2003), 98. There is an '*ayin*' here.

<sup>746</sup> Cross does not read the word divider ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 17 = *Leaves*, 98). It is there.

<sup>747</sup> Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120) and van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5) read a word divider after the *dalet*. Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33) and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 357) read a *mem* after the *dalet*. I see no trace of either a word divider or a *mem* in this area.

<sup>748</sup> Albright does not read the *waw* but instead reads "(?) [b]" before the *kap* ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 38). Veenhof reads "x" ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 175). This letter is a *waw*. Sasson ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,'" 118) and *KAI* 307 (74) read a word divider after the *waw*. There is no word divider here.

<sup>749</sup> Horn ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 8), Veenhof ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 175), Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33), van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5), Dion ("Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," 32), Fulco ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 40-41), Jackson (*Ammonite Language*, 10), Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154), and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 357) read a word divider here. Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 17 = *Leaves*, 98), Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 38), Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,"

4. ]wbkl | s[<sup>752</sup>]r<sup>753</sup>t<sup>754</sup>yl<sup>755</sup>n<sup>756</sup> |<sup>757</sup>šd<sup>758</sup>?<sup>759</sup>[

5. ]l |<sup>760</sup>td<sup>761</sup>lt<sup>762</sup>bdl<sup>763</sup> | bṭn kb<sup>764</sup>h[<sup>764</sup>

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120), and *KAI* 307 (74) do not read a word divider here. There is a trace in this area; however, due to its proximity to the following *mem* and the fact that the plaster has chipped in this area, I believe this trace is a scratch.

<sup>750</sup> Palmaitis (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,” 120) and *KAI* 307 (74) read a word divider here. The plaster is slightly chipped and indented, but there is no stroke deep enough to be a word divider.

<sup>751</sup> Albright reads “*kʾ*” here (“Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 38). Veenhof reads “x” (“De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie,” 175). This letter is a *bet*.

<sup>752</sup> Albright restores *dalet* here (“Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 38). Puech and Rofé (“Inscription de la citadelle d’Amman,” 532-33), Jackson (*Ammonite Language*, 10), and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read *dalet* here. Sasson reads *bet* here (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,” 118). The area is too damaged to restore anything.

<sup>753</sup> Horn has “?” (“The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 8). Van Selms (“Some Remarks,” 5), Dion (“Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” 32), and Shea (“The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105) read nothing. Cross (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” 17 = *Leaves*, 98), Palmaitis (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,” 120), Sasson (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,” 118), and *KAI* 307 (74) read *bet*. Albright restores *resh* (“Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 38). There is certainly a *resh* here.

<sup>754</sup> Veenhof does not read anything in the area between the *samek* and the *yod* (“De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie,” 176).

<sup>755</sup> Cross (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” [1969], 17), Albright (“Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 38), Palmaitis (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,” 120), Sasson (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,” 118), and Shea (“The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105) read *het* here. However, in 2003, Cross reads *nun* (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” 98). Veenhof reads “x” (“De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie,” 176) and Dion reads nothing (“Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” 32). Van Selms reads *šade* (“Some Remarks,” 5). *KAI* 307 reads *he* (74). This letter is a *nun*.

<sup>756</sup> Horn (“The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 8), Palmaitis (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,” 120), and van Selms (“Some Remarks,” 5) read *dalet* here. Albright reads “*m(!)*” (“Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 38). Veenhof reads “x” (“De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie,” 176). Dion (“Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” 32) and Shea (“The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105) read *mem*. The letter is a *nun*.

<sup>757</sup> Horn (“The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 8), Palmaitis (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,” 120), Veenhof (“De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie,” 176), van Selms (“Some Remarks,” 5), Fulco (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 40-41), Sasson (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,” 118), Shea (“The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105), Jackson (*Ammonite Language*, 10), and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read no word divider here. Dion reads a *bet* in this area (“Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” 32). There is a word divider here.

<sup>758</sup> Dion reads a *resh* here (“Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” 32).

<sup>759</sup> Horn (“The Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 8), Puech and Rofé (“Inscription de la citadelle d’Amman,” 532-33), Fulco (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 40-41), Sasson (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,” 118), Shea (“The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105), Jackson (*Ammonite Language*, 10), Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154), and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read *qop*. Cross reads *he* in 1969 (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” 17), but reads *qop* in 2003 (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,” 98). Albright reads “*h(!)*” (“Some Comments on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 38). Palmaitis (“The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription,” 120), van Selms (“Some Remarks,” 5), Dion (“Notes d’épigraphie ammonite,” 32), and *KAI* 307 (74) read *he*. This letter form has a long vertical stem and might be a *gimel*, *waw*, *samek*, *qop*, or *resh*. It is not a *he*, as the stems of all certain *he*’s in this inscription are more curved than the stem of this letter.

<sup>760</sup> Shea reads neither the *lamed* nor the word divider (“The Amman Citadel Inscription Again,” 105). Sasson does not read the word divider (“The ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection,” 118). Both the *lamed* and the word divider are certainly there.

6. <sup>765</sup>]h | <sup>766</sup>tšt' | b<sup>767</sup>bn<sup>768</sup> | 'lm[
7. ]wš[ ]<sup>769</sup>wn<sup>770</sup>[
8. ]<sup>771</sup>lm | lk | <sup>772</sup>wš<sup>773</sup>[

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<sup>761</sup> Palmaitis reads *bet* ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). This letter is certainly a *dalet*.

<sup>762</sup> Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120) transliterates this letter as *tet*; however, his drawing makes it clear that he reads this letter as a *taw*, and the transliteration contains a typo. Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 38), Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33), and Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154) read a word divider after the *taw*. I see no word divider.

<sup>763</sup> Horn ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 8), Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 17 = *Leaves*, 98), Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 38), Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120), Veenhof ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 176), van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5), Dion ("Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," 32), Fulco ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 40-41), *KAI* 307 (74), and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read *resh*. This is certainly a *bet*.

<sup>764</sup> Cross reads a word divider here ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 17 = *Leaves*, 98). I see no word divider.

<sup>765</sup> Palmaitis reads "*kr*" in this area ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33) and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read a *nun* here. The area is damaged, and I see no certain letter forms.

<sup>766</sup> Shea does not read the word divider ("The Amman Citadel Inscription Again," 105). It is there.

<sup>767</sup> Palmaitis reads this letter as *zayin* ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). It is a *bet*.

<sup>768</sup> Palmaitis reads this letter as *lamed* in his transliteration, but his drawing has some other traces in the area before the *lamed* ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). The letter is certainly a *nun*; I saw this clearly when collating this inscription in Amman.

<sup>769</sup> Horn ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 8) and Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 17 = *Leaves*, 98) read a word divider here. Palmaitis reads a *mem* just after the *shin* ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). Fulco ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 40-41), Jackson (*Ammonite Language*, 10), Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154), and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read "*h* ." here. Puech and Rofé offer several possible readings for the beginning of line seven: (1) "*wšlyh* .", (2) "*wšth* .", or (3) "*wšsh* ." ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33, 546). The area between *shin* and the second *waw* in this line is too damaged to restore anything with certainty. Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 38), Dion ("Notes d'épigraphie ammonite," 32), Sasson ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription as an Oracle of Divine Protection," 118), and Shea ("The Amman Citadel Inscription Again," 105) read nothing after the *shin*.

<sup>770</sup> Horn reads "?" ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 8). Veenhof reads nothing ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 176). Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 17 = *Leaves*, 98), van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5), and *KAI* 307 (74) read *kap*. At the end of line seven, Puech and Rofé read either "*wnksm*" or "*wnth* 't" ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33, 546). Instead of "*wn*" Palmaitis reads "*šmr*" in this area ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). The *waw* is clear. I read the letter just after it as *nun*; it might also be a *mem*. The area following these two letters at the end of line seven is damaged, and I can restore nothing with certainty.

<sup>771</sup> Various readings are proposed for the beginning of line eight before the *lamed*. Palmaitis reads "*w* . [??] *š*" ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). In 1969, Cross reads '*alep* before the *lamed* ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 17), but he reads *shin* there in 2003 ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 98). Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33) read "*wš*" here. Fulco ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 40-41), Jackson (*Ammonite Language*, 10), and *KAI* 307 (74) read *shin*. Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154) and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read "*wš*". This area is damaged, and I identify no certain forms before the *lamed*.

Translation:<sup>774</sup>

1. .... Mi]lkom(?): build for yourself entrances roundabout ....
2. .... that all who surround you shall surely die ....
3. .... I shall surely destroy. All who enter ....
4. .... and amid (its) co[lum]ns(?) (the) just(?) shall reside ...
5. .... L innermost door ..... extinguish .....
6. .... H you shall gaze in awe in the midst of the porch ....
7. .... and Š ..... and N ....
8. ....p]eace(?) to you and Š ....

Significant Palaeographic Features:<sup>775</sup>

The script of the Amman Citadel inscription shares its principal characteristics with the script of ninth-century Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, including the tendency for counterclockwise rotation of its letter forms, as seen in *'alep*, *bet*, *dalet*, *he*, *het*, *yod*, *kap*, *mem*, *samek*, *šade*, and *resh*. The letters *'alep*,<sup>776</sup> *dalet*,<sup>777</sup> *he*, *kap*, and *taw*<sup>778</sup> provide important palaeographic information for dating this inscription. Furthermore, *waw*, *het*, *tet*, *'ayin*, and *šade* warrant special mention.<sup>779</sup>

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<sup>772</sup> Aḥituv does not read a word divider here (*Echoes*, 357). Fulco does not read a word divider here in his transliteration, but he includes it in his drawing ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 40-41). The word divider is certainly there.

<sup>773</sup> Horn reads "?" ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 8). Albright ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 38), Veenhof ("De Ammān Citadel Inscripție," 176), and van Selms ("Some Remarks," 5) read nothing. The *shin* is certainly there. Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120), Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 532-33) and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 357) read *lamed* after the *shin*. This area is damaged, and I do not see a *lamed*.

<sup>774</sup> This translation is based on that of Aufrecht (*Corpus*, 154).

<sup>775</sup> This inscription provides a good example of acceptable variation in letter forms within the same inscription. With regard to the Amman Citadel inscription, van der Kooij's states, "The individual forms of these two signs (*bet*, word divider) . . . may be a reason to distinguish the sculptor/scribe of lines 1 and 2 from the one of the lines which follow" ("The Identity," 118). If such minor variation in letter forms must be attributed to different scribal hands, then we will be hard pressed to find any inscription that was ever written by a single person. Cf. the discussion of overly-stringent palaeographic analysis in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>776</sup> Cross calls the Amman Citadel *'alep* "archaic" because of its short vertical shaft ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 14 = *Leaves*, 95). Puech and Rofé disagree with Cross and say that the Amman Citadel *'alep* compares with some examples of *'alep* in the Sefire inscriptions (IA, lines 2, 3, 5, 6; IB, lines 5, 7; IIB, lines 6, 18) ("Inscription de la

As pointed out above, the stems of *'alep*, *dalet*, and *he* elongate during the latter part of the ninth century. In the Amman Citadel inscription, **the vertical stems of *'alep* and *dalet* are short, while the stem of *he* is long**. Note that, as in the Tel Dan stele, the spine of *he* is slightly curved.<sup>780</sup> This is discussed in more detail below.

In the ninth—eighth-century Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, the typical form of *waw* is an upside-down h. (This form is first seen in the late tenth—early ninth-century Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription). However, another form of *waw* exists during this period that maintains an affinity with the earlier tenth-century form of the letter, which has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head and looks like a goblet or bowl sitting atop a vertical stem. **The Amman Citadel *waw* resembles**

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citadelle d'Amman," 542). The stem of *'alep* in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions begins to elongate during the ninth century and both short- and longer-stemmed examples appear during this period. The eighth-century Sefire inscriptions are one of the last examples of *'alep*'s transition, as they, too, have both short- and long-stemmed examples of *'alep*.

<sup>777</sup> In the Amman Citadel inscription, the short-stemmed *dalet* is easily distinguished from the longer-stemmed *resh*. In the eighth century, the stem of *dalet* in the Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions continues to elongate, making it harder to distinguish this letter from *resh*. Cross states that "the 'Ammān *dalet* is 'typologically' primitive, less evolved than the forms of the Bir-Hadad and Zakkur inscriptions. The latter have longer legs and more rounded points on the left of the triangular head" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 16 = *Leaves*, 96). There is practically no distinction between the length of *dalet*'s stem in the Amman Citadel inscription and the Bir-Hadad stele. The Zakkur *dalet* has a slightly longer stem. For a further discussion of both *dalet*'s stem and head-shape, see below.

<sup>778</sup> This is also noted by Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 14-17 = *Leaves*, 96) and van der Kooij ("The Identity," 110-11, 116). Puech and Rofé, however, state that the Amman Citadel *taw* has a long vertical stem like other Aramaic texts dated to c.800 BCE (the Zakkur, Hadad, and Sefire inscriptions) ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 544). Though one of the strokes of the Amman Citadel *taw* is slightly elongated, it has done so only slightly and hardly compares to the *taws* in the inscriptions mentioned by Puech and Rofé. On *taw* stem elongation, see below.

<sup>779</sup> Cross says that the script of the Amman Citadel inscription is marked "by free, long strokes (with *he*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *samek*, and *resh*)" and that *sade* and *resh* have "long, graceful forms" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 16-17 = *Leaves*, 96). Moreover, Cross says that *samek* is distinguished "from older forms by its long leg" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 16 = *Leaves*, 96). However, it should be noted that *samek*'s vertical shaft in the Amman Citadel inscription is quite longer than all ninth- and eighth-century examples of this letter. Thus, I believe this extreme length is likely another example of the marked cursive character of the Amman Citadel script (which Cross himself noted).

Also, with regard to *samek*, note the following. In all examples in the Amman Citadel inscription, *samek*'s vertical shaft consistently pierces all of its horizontal bars, even the top one slightly. Not all scholars have recognized this piercing in all occurrences of the letter. In Horn's drawing of *samek*, only the example from line one shows this piercing of the top horizontal bar ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 5-7). In Puech and Rofé's drawing only the examples in lines one and two show this piercing ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 533). None of the examples in Palmitis's drawing show this ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120). Puech's script chart gives examples of *samek* with and without this piercing ("L'inscription de la statue d'Amman," 19).

<sup>780</sup> Cross says that "an archaic form of *he* appears side by side with the proto-cursive forms" of *he* in the Amman Citadel inscription ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 14-16 = *Leaves*, 95-96). However, both on-site collation and the new sets of images of this inscription that both West Semitic Research and I have produced make clear that each of the fully preserved *he*'s within the Amman Citadel inscription has a rounded spine. See the discussion of *he*'s curved spine in the fuller palaeographic analysis below.

**this symmetrical, cup-shaped form** (though its head is more v-shaped than round). Nevertheless, close examination of this letter shows that it has a developed ninth-century form. The right side of its head and its vertical spine are formed in one stroke, while the left side of its head is added with an additional stroke, as in the ninth-century upside-down-h form of *waw*.

In the late tenth—eighth-century Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, ***het* is ladder-shaped, with two vertical shafts on the left and right**. In between these shafts lay typically three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel, horizontal bars. **There are two examples of *het* in the Amman Citadel inscription. The first example is clear and undamaged; it has three distinct horizontal bars. The top of the second example is damaged, and it is not clear whether it has two or three bars.**<sup>781</sup>

During the course of the eighth century, *het* begins to break down in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions. By the eighth century, in Aramaic, two- and one-barred *hets* appear, and the one-barred type becomes dominant in the Aramaic script in the seventh century. I discuss this further below.

The typical form of *tet* in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions in the tenth-eighth centuries is a circle with either an x or a + inside. **The Amman Citadel inscription, however, preserves an alternate form of *tet* from this period that is *theta*-shaped**. During the early Iron II period, this form is found in both Phoenician<sup>782</sup> and Aramaic.<sup>783</sup> It becomes the predominant form of *tet* in Aramaic from the seventh century on.

The standard form of *kap* in the Amman Citadel inscription resembles that in the Tel Dan inscription. **It has a three-pronged head, and the middle prong of this head splits equally the**

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<sup>781</sup> Scholars differ regarding the number of *het*'s horizontal bars in this inscription. Horn ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 5-6); Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 14-16 = *Leaves*, 95-96; "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual," 405 = *Leaves*, 59), Palmaitis ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120), A. Millard ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet and Its Passage to the Greeks," *Kadmos* 15 [1976]: 131), and Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 110) see both *hets* as two-barred. Fulco says the first *het* is three-barred; the second is two-barred ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 40-41). Albright says the *het* "that appears twice in line two seems to have had three bars originally" ("Some Comments on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 38), and van der Kooij regards both as three-barred ("The Identity," 110-11, 116). Puech and Rofé say both *hets* are three-barred ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 533, 543), though Puech draws the first *het* in line two with four bars ("L'inscription de la statue d'Amman," 19).

<sup>782</sup> The tenth-century Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription.

<sup>783</sup> The eighth-century Bar-Rakib inscriptions.



**distance between the left and right prongs.** However, **there is also one example of the more developed form of *kap*,**<sup>784</sup> seen in the Kilamuwa sheath and Melqart stele, wherein ***kap*'s left prong has broken away from the rest of its head and has slid up its middle prong.** This inscription showcases a transitional period in *kap*'s development.

**Two of the three examples of 'ayin** in the Amman Citadel inscription **have a circular shape and are smaller than surrounding letters.** This is the typical form of 'ayin in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions in the ninth century. However, **the third Amman Citadel 'ayin has opened slightly at the top,** anticipating 'ayin's future development.<sup>785</sup> During the eighth century, 'ayin begins to open in Aramaic inscriptions. It does so in Phoenician inscriptions at the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth centuries.

The form of *šade* found in the Amman Citadel inscription is idiosyncratic and not typologically significant. The typical form of *šade* in this period (in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions) is made up of a small z attached by its top stroke to a vertical shaft on the left. **The Amman Citadel *šade* does not have this z-shaped body but rather a v- or triangular-shaped body attached to a vertical shaft.**<sup>786</sup>

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<sup>784</sup> Van der Kooij only includes the standard form of *kap* in his Amman Citadel script chart but does have the advanced form in his drawing ("The Identity," 110-11). In his article on the Amman Citadel inscription, Cross discusses the advanced form of *kap* but does not include it in his script chart ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," [1969], 15-16; "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual," 405 = *Leaves*, 59). In his article on the Melqart stele, he says the Melqart stele *kap* is identical with the Amman Citadel *kap* and is "highly primitive alongside the Zakir *kap*." He does not mention the advanced form of *kap* seen in the Amman Citadel inscription ("The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth," 38-40 = *Leaves*, 175).

<sup>785</sup> Van der Kooij also regards the 'ayin in line three, in addition to the one in line six, as open ("The Identity," 110-11, 116-18). The 'ayin in line three is closed. Cross says that the open 'ayin in line six is "probably without typological significance; however, we must note that circular and open 'ayins occur together in the Ammonite cursive from Deir 'Allā by the end of the eighth century. The open form is regular in the cursive" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 16-17 = *Leaves*, 96). I believe that the Amman Citadel inscription, as discussed above, has many cursive tendencies and that the open 'ayin in this inscription anticipates the trajectory of the letter in the eighth century (cf. the discussion of anticipatory features in the Methodology chapter). Furthermore, the presence of the open 'ayin is one of the reasons that I assign a late ninth—early eighth-century palaeographic date to this piece.

<sup>786</sup> It is not clear whether the head of *šade* is made up of two or three lines. Puech and Rofé ("Inscription de la citadelle d'Amman," 543, 544) and Puech ("L'inscription de la statue d'Amman," 19) believe it is two. Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 15 = *Leaves*, 95 n.6) and Veenhof ("De Ammān Citadel Inscriptie," 174) see a short vertical stroke on the right connecting the two oblique lines in a triangular shape. Palmaitis draws it more like a standard *šade* ("The First Ancient Ammonite Inscription," 120) but this is not correct. Horn ("The Ammān Citadel Inscription," 5), Fulco ("The 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 40), and van der Kooij ("The Identity," 110-11, 116) compare this form to the Deir 'Allā *šade*.

***Taw* has a compact x-shape, made of two strokes of roughly equal length.** It resembles *taw* in the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions and in the Aramaic Gozan pedestal. It does not reflect the development that *taw* typically exhibits during the ninth century, wherein one of its strokes has begun to lengthen (as seen in the late tenth—early ninth-century Phoenician Shipitba‘al inscription and in all ninth-century Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions).

### **A Palaeographic Analysis of Aramaic Inscriptions from the Early Iron II Period**

In the following pages, I offer a comprehensive palaeographic analysis of the Aramaic inscriptions of the late tenth to eighth centuries in order to establish a typology of the development of the early Aramaic script. I draw especially from my previous individual analyses of the Aramaic inscriptions of the late tenth-ninth centuries,<sup>787</sup> especially vis-à-vis the contemporary Phoenician inscriptions. I compare these texts to Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions from the eighth century, and also briefly to ninth—eighth-century Hebrew-script inscriptions, though I will treat the Hebrew script in full in the following chapter.

J. Naveh produced the definitive study of the development of Aramaic script in his 1970 dissertation, *The Development of the Aramaic Script*.<sup>788</sup> As his work is the standard reference for this subject, I interact closely with him. Naveh argues that the Aramaeans first adopted the Phoenician script for writing and that there is no evident distinction between Phoenician and Aramaic script until the mid-eighth century BCE. For this reason he refers to the script employed in the early Aramaic inscriptions as “Phoenician-Aramaic.” He further argues that during the eighth century, an independent Aramaic script began to develop and that this script can be identified in the eighth-

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<sup>787</sup> The date range for the latest inscriptions in this series is the late ninth-early eighth century.

<sup>788</sup> Naveh, *Development*.

century Aramaic cursive inscriptions.<sup>789</sup> Additionally, I interact often with both F. M. Cross and B. Haines. Cross's palaeographic treatments of early Aramaic are found in his various articles treating Aramaic and Ammonite inscriptions. He argues that the Aramaeans first employed the Phoenician script for writing but that a "wholly individual national Aramaic script" emerged in the course of the first half of the ninth century.<sup>790</sup> Haines also treated the development of Aramaic script in his 1966 dissertation written under Cross, "A Paleographical Study of Aramaic Inscriptions Antedating 500 B.C.," though this work is lesser known than Naveh's. Haines states that the Aramaeans borrowed the alphabet from the Phoenicians but that the Phoenician and Aramaic formal script traditions began to separate during the latter part of the ninth century and that by the end of the eighth century, the separation was almost complete. Furthermore, he argues that there was a cursive Aramaic script tradition that likely originated in the ninth century and emerged from the formal Aramaic script from at least the eighth century onward.<sup>791</sup> I engage more with Naveh, Cross, and Haines than with others who treat only individual early Aramaic inscriptions, as the works of the latter often offer only cursory palaeographic discussion.<sup>792</sup>

The work of Naveh, Cross, and Haines continues to be highly important for any treatment of this subject. Nonetheless, an updated analysis of the early Aramaic script is valuable for several

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<sup>789</sup> J. Naveh, "A Palaeographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script," *HTR* 61 (1968): 69 n.5; idem, *Development*, especially 15; idem, "Scripts in Palestine," 277 = *Studies*, 3; idem, "Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek," 105 = *Studies*, 96; idem, "Inscriptions of the Biblical Period," (1984), 61; idem, *Early History*, 78-100, 214, especially 80, 89, 97.

In 2008, Rollston said that "a distinctive Aramaic script did develop (beginning in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, fully developed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.)" ("Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary," 78). However, in 2010, he stated that "a distinct Aramaic script is attested in Aramaic inscriptions from the late-eighth century B.C.E." and also listed several characteristics of this distinct Aramaic script (*Writing and Literacy*, 44-45).

<sup>790</sup> Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 13-19 = *Leaves*, 95-99; idem, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *BASOR* 238 (1980): 14 = *Leaves*, 226; idem, "Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual," 393-409 = *Leaves*, 51-60; idem, "The Stele Dedicated to Melqart," (2003), 173-74. Earlier, Cross argued that a distinct Aramaic script emerged by at least the eighth century (F. M. Cross, Jr. and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography: A Study of the Epigraphic Evidence* [New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1952], 31-32).

<sup>791</sup> Haines, "Paleographical Study," especially 27, 480-81, 490, 495-505.

<sup>792</sup> Exceptions to this, with whom I interact to a lesser degree below, are: Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*) and Attardo ("Utilità della paleografia," 89-143). Cf. also E. Attardo, "La paleografia aramaica dagli inizi al 612 a.C." (Tesi di Laurea, Padua University, 1984). Despite my efforts, I have been unable to obtain a copy of this thesis.

reasons. To begin with, since the time they produced their studies, more Aramaic inscriptions have been recovered, and I have dealt with many of these in this chapter. Moreover, at the time they conducted their analyses, many of the relevant inscriptions were available only via photographs, and these photographs were often of poor quality. As discussed in the methodology chapter, my work presented here is based both on personal on-site collation, as well as on more recently produced, high-quality images of many of these inscriptions, including those that I produced particularly for this study.<sup>793</sup>

Based upon my examination of the pertinent early Iron II Aramaic, Phoenician, and Hebrew inscriptions, which are included in the analysis below, I believe Naveh is correct in his assessment that a distinct Aramaic script first emerged during the eighth century BCE; however, in contrast to Naveh, I do not believe it is possible to determine the exact time during that century that this script arose. A few of the eighth-century Aramaic inscriptions, not only those dated to the second half of the eighth century but also those whose dates can be narrowed no further than the general eighth century, show a development of various letter forms that is distinct from the development of the contemporary Phoenician (and Hebrew) letter forms. Furthermore, the emergence of this Aramaic script is most easily identified in the Aramaic cursive inscriptions, though it may be detected in the formal inscriptions as well.

## **The Aramaic Letter Forms**

### **Stem Elongation**

Before discussing each of the Aramaic letter forms individually, I will comment on a particular letter feature that is exhibited by a variety of letters (*'alep, dalet, he, kap, mem, nun, samek, pe, sade, qop, resh, and taw*) and is often referenced by scholars in regard to the birth of individual Northwest Semitic script traditions—stem elongation. Some scholars believe that the elongation of

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<sup>793</sup> For further discussion, see the section on “Modes of Analysis” in the Methodology chapter.

letter stems (and tails) is particularly significant for determining the typological development of a distinct script tradition. This is Cross's major qualification for identifying a distinct Aramaic script in the ninth century B.C.E. He states that "the lengthening of the final down-stroke of a letter, notably in the letters *'alep, dalet, he, kap, mem, nun, resh, and taw*, characterizes the evolution of the Aramaic script of the ninth century B.C.E."<sup>794</sup> Likewise, P. K. McCarter states that stem elongation

has special paleographical significance for comparison of the developing Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew traditions. Early Linear Phoenician with its lapidary successor shows most resistance to the tendency by remaining symmetrical and compact throughout the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, short stems begin to appear on certain Phoenician forms, such as *dalet, he* (already in the 10<sup>th</sup>), *mem*, and *šade*, but the elongation of these stems, as of other vertical features of the Phoenician script, does not make its appearance until the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and later. In striking contrast to the situation in Phoenician is the early elongation of the letter forms of the scripts of the Syrian and Canaanite heartland. In Aramaic, the primary period of elongation is the 9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E., at least a century earlier than in Phoenician.<sup>795</sup>

Others, such as C. A. Rollston, do not believe that stem elongation alone should be used as a criterion for identifying an individual script series. He says, "I contend it would be very difficult to suggest that the elongation of certain letters should be considered to be evidence for or against an inscription's status within a script series. That is, I do not consider elongation to be a distinctive marker of a particular national script series. The Phoenician, Aramaic, and Old Hebrew script series all reflect elongation."<sup>796</sup> Still, for both Cross and McCarter, the significant issue is not *if* stem elongation occurs but rather *when* stem elongation occurs in each of these traditions, and, as stated above, they believe it occurs earlier in Aramaic inscriptions than in Phoenician.

Based on my analysis of the ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions, I believe that stem elongation appears not only in Aramaic inscriptions in the ninth century, but also in Phoenician inscriptions. In the Honeyman and Nora inscriptions, the stems of *dalet, kap, mem, pe, and taw* exhibit elongation. In fact, some stem elongation is already present to some degree in the tenth-

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<sup>794</sup> Cross, "Paleography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 54, 58-59.

<sup>795</sup> P. K. McCarter Jr., "Paleographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedary," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context* (R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 54-55.

<sup>796</sup> Rollston, *Writing and Literacy*, 33; idem, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary," 83. For the larger discussion between McCarter and Rollston regarding the significance of stem elongation, see McCarter, "Paleographic Notes," 54-56; Rollston, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary," 83-88; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 32-35.

century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions. The letter *samek* in the 'Ahiram sarcophagus is notably longer than in the eleventh-century Phoenician 'Azarba'al spatula. The tails of *mem*, *nun*, and *taw* have elongated, especially in the Shipitba'al inscription, and *dalet* has developed a stem in the 'Abda sherd.

One could argue that the stems in the ninth-century Aramaic inscriptions are longer than those in ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions. However, in my examination of the Aramaic corpus, I find variation in the length of letter stems within that corpus itself. For example, some examples of ninth-century Aramaic inscriptions have short stems, such as the Tel Dan stele. The stems of '*alep*, *dalet*, *he*, *mem*, *nun*, and *taw* are shorter in this inscription than in some of the Hazael booty inscriptions. This evidence suggests that the ninth century was part of a transitional period<sup>797</sup> with regard to stem elongation in Aramaic inscriptions and that letter stems elongated *over the course of* this period and not all inscriptions from this period exhibit this typological development to the same degree. I believe this is true for ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions as well. In this regard, it is important to note that when one compares the Tel Dan inscription to the ninth-century Phoenician Honeyman and Nora inscriptions, one sees that the stems of the Tel Dan '*alep*, *dalet*, *he*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, *qop*, and *resh* are no longer than in the Honeyman and Nora inscriptions. Thus, I suggest that these three ninth-century inscriptions share a common script tradition *and* do not yet exhibit the full stem elongation that is present in the more typologically advanced inscriptions from the latter part of the ninth century. Additionally, a comparison of eighth-century Phoenician and eighth-century Aramaic texts reveal comparable stem elongation; the letter stems in the Aramaic inscriptions are not longer than those in the Phoenician inscriptions—a distinction that, if present, might indicate that Aramaic letter stems had been lengthening for a substantial period of time before the Phoenician letters began this development.

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<sup>797</sup> I believe stem elongation began in the Phoenician script to some degree in the tenth century and continued throughout the ninth century, becoming solidified by the eighth. That is, the general chronological horizon for this development is the tenth-ninth centuries (cf. the discussion of chronological horizon in the Methodology chapter). Cf. the discussion of stem elongation in the chapter on tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan.

Finally, and most importantly, I believe that we do have an example of a ninth-century Phoenician inscription with substantially elongated stems—the Kilamuwa stele. This inscription is written in the Phoenician language, and though the majority of scholars also believe it is written in the Phoenician script, Cross argued that the Kilamuwa stele is written in the Aramaic script.<sup>798</sup> Unfortunately, Cross never published his reasons for classifying this script as Aramaic. However, as stated above, the major reason that Cross argues that the Aramaic script emerges distinctly alongside Phoenician in the ninth century is the presence of stem elongation in Aramaic inscriptions from this period. Therefore, one could assume that because the Kilamuwa stele exhibits stem elongation, Cross labeled its script Aramaic. I argue, in contrast, that it is more probable that the Phoenician-language Kilamuwa stele was also written in the Phoenician script, and thus stands as a clear example of the fact that Phoenician inscriptions from the ninth century also exhibit substantial stem elongation. In this respect, I should also mention the inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud that are written in the Phoenician script and date to the late ninth-early eighth century. They exhibit substantial stem elongation. Based on the aforementioned evidence, I do not believe that stem elongation can be used as a marker for identifying a distinctive Aramaic script tradition.

### **The Individual Letter Forms**

**’alep** – The earliest examples of Aramaic **’alep** are from the ninth century. In this period Aramaic **’alep** emulates its Phoenician counterpart. It exhibits counterclockwise rotation, a feature which persists in the eighth century, though some upright examples may also been seen in that period (Bar Rakib inscriptions, Hadad statue, Hamath bricks #5, 14, 16; and some examples in the Sefire inscriptions and in the Panamuwa II statue).

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<sup>798</sup> Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel,” 15-17 = *Leaves*, 96; idem, “The Stele Dedicated to Melqart,” in *Leaves*, 173; idem, “Phoenicians in the West,” 122 (note 17 on page 126) = *Leaves*, 257-58 n.26; idem, “Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual,” (1995), 393-409, especially 395, 395 n.8 = *Leaves*, (2003), 51-60, especially 52, 52 n.7. Cross is followed by McCarter, “Paleographic Notes,” 55-56. Neither Cross nor McCarter state explicitly their reasons for identifying the Kilamuwa script as Aramaic. Based on the comments that they do make, one is left to infer that stem elongation is a major part of their reason for doing so. See the larger discussion of the script of the Kilamuwa stele in the previous chapter on Phoenician script.

In the ninth century, *'alep*'s head is formed by two oblique lines that meet in a v-shaped nose on the left side. The tip of this nose may be sharply or bluntly pointed. This head is bisected by a vertical stem,<sup>799</sup> which initially extends the same distance both above and below it (Tel Dan stele, Hazael Nimrud ivory, Amman Citadel inscription). However, during the second half of the ninth-early eighth century, this vertical stem begins to extend further below the head (Hazael Arslan Tash ivory and Samos plate, Kilamuwa sheath, Tel Dan bowl).<sup>800</sup> In fact, the time of this development is preserved in some inscriptions from this period, which have both short- and long-stemmed *'aleps* (Hazael Eretria plate, Melqart stele).<sup>801</sup> This stem elongation persists in the eighth century, though short-stemmed *'aleps* still occasionally appear (some examples in the Sefire inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, and Hamath bricks #16, 36). As mentioned above, the vertical shaft of *'alep* is slightly curved in the Tel Dan stele (cf. the spine of *he*). This curvature is not unique to Aramaic inscriptions, a similar curvature in *'alep*'s vertical shaft is seen in some contemporary Phoenician and Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>802</sup>

Furthermore, during the eighth century, the Aramaic and Phoenician scripts diverge from one another, and *'alep* provides our first example of this divergence. In this period, the head of Aramaic *'alep* begins to break down, losing its v-shape. Its top oblique line no longer pierces the vertical shaft to touch its bottom oblique in a v-shaped nose. Instead, the top oblique touches the bottom oblique

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<sup>799</sup> In the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions (royal Byblian inscriptions, 'Abda sherd), *'alep*'s head is touched by a vertical stroke at its extreme left end. This leftward positioning of *'alep*'s vertical stroke is found in some inscriptions dated to the twelfth-tenth centuries; but in earlier Canaanite inscriptions and later ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions, such as the Honeyman inscription, Nora stone, and Bosa fragment, as well as all Phoenician inscriptions from the eighth-early seventh centuries, the head of *'alep* is not simply touched on the left end by the vertical stroke but is bisected by it. For further discussion see the Phoenician chapter of this study. This statement is made in response to Haines, who argues that Phoenician inscriptions maintain a preference for bisecting the head of *'alep* extremely close to the tip of the nose; and, therefore, that Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions employ different forms of *'alep* in the last half of the ninth century ("Paleographical Study," 485, 490).

<sup>800</sup> Cross argues that the Phoenician and the Aramaic scripts are distinguished in the ninth century by the elongation of Aramaic *'alep*'s (along with other letters') stem ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>801</sup> Cf. the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>802</sup> This curvature might suggest cursive influence. However, none of the early Iron II Aramaic cursive inscriptions exhibit this curved form of *'alep*. The Phoenician inscriptions with curved *'alep* are formal, the Hebrew are cursive.



just at the vertical shaft. This gives the head of *'alep* a star-shaped appearance (Nimrud lion weights CIS II, #3, 4),<sup>803</sup> and a star-shaped *'alep* becomes the standard form of Aramaic *'alep* from the seventh century on.<sup>804</sup> A new form of *'alep* also appears in the eighth-century Phoenician script, which has a head formed with parallel rather than oblique strokes. This form anticipates the eventual breakdown of the head of Phoenician *'alep* into two, short parallel lines in the seventh century.<sup>805</sup> As will be discussed in the following chapter, a distinct form of *'alep* also appears in the Hebrew script in the eighth century; in the Hebrew form, *'alep* develops a tick on the right side of its bottom oblique stroke.

***bet*** – In the ninth century, Aramaic *bet* also resembles Phoenician. It has a preference for counterclockwise rotation, though upright examples still occur in this period (Tel Dan bowl) and into the eighth century (Bar-Rakib silver bars, some examples in the Zakkur and Sefire inscriptions).<sup>806</sup> (Note that Hebrew *bet* distinguishes itself in the ninth century, as it begins to rotate in a clockwise direction.)

*Bet* is made up of a spine on the right side<sup>807</sup> connected to a sharp or blunted triangular head<sup>808</sup> and foot on the left. Its foot is distinct from its vertical spine (except in some of the examples

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<sup>803</sup> Haines asks if a “new type of *'alep*” might be seen in the Nimrud lion weights, but he is not certain and wonders if the media of the inscriptions might be affecting their letter forms. He does acknowledge, however, that Aramaic *'alep* eventually becomes star-shaped (“Paleographical Study,” 67-68, 78-79). I believe that the first examples of the star-shaped *'alep* certainly can be identified in the Nimrud lion weights.

<sup>804</sup> For later examples of *'alep*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, “Paleographical Study.”

<sup>805</sup> For later examples of Phoenician *'alep*, see the discussions on seventh-century Phoenician in B. Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 1968), especially 44-45, 66-69, 104-13.

<sup>806</sup> *Bet*, in Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, may stand upright or be rotated counterclockwise in the ninth-eighth centuries. The *bet* of the late tenth—early ninth-century Aramaic Gozan pedestal exhibits slight clockwise rotation. This stance is idiosyncratic for this period.

<sup>807</sup> Haines (“Paleographical Study,” 80) states that *bet*’s spine lengthens in ninth-century Aramaic inscriptions and in the Kilamuwa inscription (which he considers to be a link between Phoenician and Aramaic scripts in the ninth century). I see no real difference between the length of *bet*’s spine in the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions and its length in the ninth-century Aramaic or Phoenician inscriptions.

<sup>808</sup> Occasionally even very round examples of *bet*’s head are seen in the epigraphic record. For example, the Zakkur stele exhibits both round- and triangular-headed *bets*. Despite the range of forms of *bet*’s head that occur in the Aramaic and Phoenician epigraphic records during the tenth-ninth centuries, various scholars (see examples below) argue

in the Amman Citadel inscription and in the Bar-Rakib silver bars) and comes across to the left, either sharply or roundly,<sup>809</sup> and either straight across or angled downward. It is typically the length of the head.

This form of *bet* persists in eighth-century Aramaic, though it begins to undergo changes in this period. Its head begins to open at the top (Hamath graffiti Aramaic Ostrakon #1; Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #2, 4),<sup>810</sup> and this open form becomes standard for Aramaic *bet* from the seventh century on.<sup>811</sup> Thus, *bet* provides another example of the separation of the Aramaic and Phoenician scripts in the eighth century, as the head of Phoenician *bet* remains closed.

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that the shape of *bet*'s head is typologically significant during this period. This is not the case. Cf. the discussion of rounded/pointed heads in the Methodology chapter of this study and the notes below.

Haines ("Paleographical Study," 80-85) says the head of *bet* becomes more rounded in the ninth century. He also points to the roundness of *bet*'s head in the Zakkur inscription, though, as I mentioned above, the Zakkur stele has both round- and triangular-headed *bets*. Furthermore, Haines, himself, notes the possible fluctuation between pointed and more blunted *bet* heads in his discussion of the Sefire inscriptions; yet, he attributes this fluctuation to cursive influence. Similarly, Athas states that Tel Dan's pointed versus rounded head is "an important epigraphical datum" (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 50). No examples of *bet* in the Tel Dan inscription have completely round heads; most have the shape of a sharp or blunted triangle. As demonstrated by my study presented here, and especially illustrated by my script charts, both sharp and more rounded *bet* heads are attested throughout the tenth-eighth centuries in both Aramaic (and Phoenician) inscriptions.

<sup>809</sup> As with the discussion of *bet*'s head, some scholars (see examples below) argue that the angle of *bet*'s foot has typological significance for the tenth-eighth centuries. This is not the case. Both round and sharply-angled *bet* feet appear in the epigraphic record in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions during this period.

Haines ("Paleographical Study," 80) erroneously says the foot of *bet* becomes more rounded in the ninth century. Likewise, Athas (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 101-2, 139) makes several contradictory statements. Though he states that both round- and angular-footed *bets* were used concurrently, he still seems to imply that the shape of *bet*'s foot has some typological significance in the tenth-eighth centuries. He says on page 101, "the curved-stem *beth* is attested earlier than the vertexed-stemmed (angular) *beth* in Phoenician inscriptions of the tenth and early ninth century BCE;" and "The fact that the vertexed-stem *beth* is the most common form beyond the tenth-century BCE Phoenician, while both forms do appear concurrently, suggests that the curved-stem *beth* is a variation of the vertexed-form outside Phoenicia. In early Phoenician inscriptions, however, the curved-stem *beth* prevails;" and on page 139, "Indeed, the curved-stem *beth* is not attested without the vertexed-stem *beth*, except in tenth century BCE Phoenicia. . . That is, the curved-stem *beth* is not mutually exclusive from the vertexed-stem *beth* at this time." As demonstrated in my script charts for this study, both round- and angular- ("vertexed") footed *bets* (as well as forms in between) are attested throughout the tenth-ninth centuries in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.

<sup>810</sup> Neither Naveh (*Development*, 11) nor Haines ("Paleographical Study," 86) discusses the head of *bet* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #2 as open-topped. It is. Furthermore, both Naveh (*Development*, 11) and Fales ("Assyro-Aramaica, 40) view the head of *bet* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #7 as open-topped. It appears closed to me.

<sup>811</sup> Though some eighth-century examples of cursive Aramaic *bet* are open at the bottom (Hamath bricks #4, 10-12, 20; Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #3, 11), I do not regard these examples as typologically significant, as *bet* does not develop in this way in subsequent centuries. For later examples of *bet*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, "Palaeographical Study."

*gimel* – The one example of *gimel* from the ninth-century Aramaic corpus (Tel Dan stele) mirrors its Phoenician counterpart. It is made up of two strokes, the right of which is longer.<sup>812</sup> It exhibits counterclockwise rotation.<sup>813</sup> This form persists in Aramaic and in Phoenician in the eighth century. A unique form of *gimel* appears in the Hebrew script by the late ninth-early eighth century. During this period, Hebrew *gimel*'s fore-stroke begins to extend past its vertical shaft on the right.

*dalet* – From the late tenth-eighth centuries, Aramaic *dalet*, like Phoenician *dalet*, varies in stance between upright and rotated counterclockwise, though it prefers the latter stance.<sup>814</sup> It is shorter than most other letters<sup>815</sup> and is the shape of a sharp or blunted triangle.<sup>816</sup> During the late tenth-early ninth centuries, Phoenician *dalet*'s right side lengthens, developing a short stem, and subsequent ninth—early eighth-century Aramaic and Phoenician *dalets* exhibit such stems.<sup>817</sup>

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<sup>812</sup> Haines says that “in several examples the right end of the right stroke (of the Zakkur and Sefire *gimels*) has a cursive tick to the right along the horizontal” (“Paleographical Study,” 95). I observe no such ticks and believe that Haines might have been led astray by pock marks or scratches on the stones.

<sup>813</sup> *Gimel* typically exhibits counterclockwise rotation in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions throughout the early Iron II Period. This stance appears as early as the tenth century in the Phoenician Byblian inscriptions. However, upright examples do occur: Aramaic Sefire inscriptions; Hamath bricks #28-29, 46; Phoenician 'Ahiṣa sarcophagus; some examples in the Nora stone.

<sup>814</sup> The Hazael Samos *dalets* exhibit various stances—upright, counterclockwise rotation, and clockwise rotation.

<sup>815</sup> The Gozan pedestal is rather large in comparison with surrounding letters; however, as noted above, the script of this inscription has some minor idiosyncrasies.

<sup>816</sup> As with *bet*, despite the range of forms of *dalet*'s head that occur in the Aramaic and Phoenician epigraphic records during the tenth-ninth centuries, various scholars (Attardo, “Utilità della paleografia,” 118, and others listed below) argue that the shape of *dalet*'s head is typologically significant during this period. This is not the case. Cf. the discussion of rounded/pointed heads in the Methodology chapter of this study.

Haines says that the more rounded appearance of *dalet*'s head in the Zakkur inscription is typologically significant and is later than the truer isosceles-triangle forms (“Paleographical Study,” 101). Likewise, when comparing the Amman Citadel inscription to the Bir-Hadad and Zakkur inscriptions, Cross states that the form of *dalet* with a “more rounded point on the left of the triangular head” is more evolved than a more sharply pointed *dalet* (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 16 = *Leaves*, 96). As demonstrated by my study presented here, and especially illustrated by my script charts, both sharp and more rounded *dalet* heads are attested throughout the tenth-eighth centuries in Aramaic (and Phoenician) inscriptions.

<sup>817</sup> Cross states that *dalet* has already developed a stem in ninth-century Aramaic, but that it will develop more slowly in Phoenician and Hebrew (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 14 = *Leaves*, 95; cf. idem, “Paleography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual,” 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59). Likewise, he says that “*Dalet*, showing a tail, is characteristic of the Aramaic series throughout the ninth century, and is not to be compared with Phoenician, Hebrew, and Moabite scripts where the *delta*-form persists longer—in Phoenician and Hebrew into the eighth century” (“Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 39 = *Leaves*, 175); and when discussing the short stem of the Tel Dan inscription *dalet*, he says that *dalet*'s stem is “a trait that distinguishes Aramaic from Hebrew (including Moabite) and Phoenician, where the tail develops much later” (*Leaves*, 52 n.7). He does not seem to consider the stemmed *dalets* in the Phoenician tenth-century 'Abda sherd or the ninth-century Honeyman and Kilamuwa inscriptions, though he draws the Honeyman *dalet* with a short stem in his script chart in the 1969 version of his Amman Citadel article (Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on the

Furthermore, *dalet*'s stem continues to elongate, so that by the eighth century, in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, *dalet* is the height of most other letters and is less distinguishable from *resh*. This continued elongation in the latter part of the ninth-early eighth century is captured in the Hazael Samos plate and Melqart stele, as the *dalets* in each of these inscriptions have varying stem lengths.<sup>818</sup> A distinct Hebrew *dalet* appears in the eighth century. In this script tradition, *dalet*'s upper head stroke begins to extend past its spine on the right side.

*he* – In the ninth century, in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, *he* exhibits counterclockwise rotation. It is made up of a vertical spine on the right, which extends below three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel bars on the left. As noted above, *he*'s vertical spine is occasionally curved (Tel Dan stele; Amman Citadel inscription; so also eighth-century Nimrud lion weight CIS II, #8; some examples in the Kitamuwa stele; cf. *'alep* above). This curvature is not unique to Aramaic inscriptions, a similar curvature in *he*'s spine is seen in some contemporary Phoenician and Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>820</sup> In the latter part of the ninth and into the eighth century, *he*'s vertical stem begins to elongate (Hazael Eretria plate, Kilamuwa sheath, Amman Citadel inscription), and the time of this development is preserved in some inscriptions from this period that have both short- and long-

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'Ammān Citadel Inscription," 15). (Hebrew *dalet* also begins to develop a short stem during the ninth century. See further discussion in the following chapter on Hebrew script.)

Note that Haines says that in some examples of the Zakkur *dalet* "the end of the tail has a short tick to the right" ("Paleographical Study," 100-01, Pl. II). I observe no ticks on the Zakkur *dalets*.

<sup>818</sup> Though at least one example of eighth-century cursive Aramaic *dalet* has an open head at the bottom (Hamath brick #11), I do not regard this example as typologically significant, as *dalet* does not develop in this way in subsequent centuries: rather, like *bet*, its head opens at the top. For later examples of *dalet*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, "Palaeographical Study."

<sup>819</sup> Note the idiosyncratic four-barred form of *he* in the Kilamuwa sheath.

<sup>820</sup> Cross regards "box-like forms" of *he* as more archaic ("The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth," 40 = *Leaves*, 175), and this might be so, as no rounded forms of *he* appear in earlier tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. (There are no extant tenth-century Aramaic inscriptions with which to compare.)

In addition, Cross calls this rounded form of *he* "a rounded semi-cursive Aramaic form" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel," 14 = *Leaves*, 95). However, a rounded *he* is also found in the Phoenician Kilamuwa stele and in both the Phoenician-script and Hebrew-script inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud and should not be seen as an exclusively Aramaic letter feature.

stemmed *hes* (Melqart stele, Sefire inscriptions, Hadad and Panamuwa II statues, Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #8, 9).<sup>821</sup>

In the eighth century, *he* maintains the aforementioned form in Phoenician inscriptions; however, the Aramaic inscriptions show a development in this letter and provide another example of the way the Aramaic script diverges from Phoenician in this period. In the Aramaic cursive inscriptions from the second half of the eighth century, *he* begins to break down. Its middle and bottom<sup>822</sup> parallel bars detach from its vertical spine (Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #8, 9) and eventually join together to form a single stroke that descends from but is not attached to its upper parallel bar (Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #6).<sup>823</sup> A distinctive Hebrew *he* develops by the late ninth-early eighth century. Its top horizontal bar begins to extend past its vertical spine on the right side. Additionally, an alternate four-barred form of *he* appears regularly in early Iron II Hebrew-script inscriptions.

**waw** – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Aramaic *waw* cannot be distinguished from Phoenician. It typically has an upside-down h form. Upright examples occur (Bar-Rakib inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, Kitamuwa stele, some examples in the Sefire inscriptions), but it favors a clockwise-rotated stance. Either its spine arches back or the entire letter leans in that direction.

The ninth-century Amman Citadel *waw* and some examples of *waw* in the eighth-century Sefire inscriptions resemble the cup-shaped form of *waw* that is typical of tenth-century Phoenician *waw* and that is also reflected in the transitional form of the ninth-century Phoenician Nora stone *waw* (and some examples of *waw* in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions). Nevertheless,

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<sup>821</sup> Cross argues that the Phoenician and Aramaic scripts are distinguished in the ninth century by the elongation of Aramaic *he*'s (along with other letters') stem ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḡariyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>822</sup> *He*'s bottom stroke seems to shorten just before it detaches from its vertical spine (Hamath bricks #8, 16).

<sup>823</sup> Haines draws this form of *he* slightly differently, though he seems to understand *he*'s development in this period in the same way that I do ("Paleographical Study," 110, Pl. IV).

Note that one of the two examples of *he* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #6 also has its top stroke detached from its vertical spine; however, this seems idiosyncratic and particular to this letter example, as this phenomenon is not characteristic of *he*'s development in subsequent periods. For later examples of *he*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig.2, 51-54; and in Haines, "Palaeographical Study."

close examination of both the Amman Citadel and Sefire *waws* shows that they have a developed ninth-century form. The right side of *waw*'s head and its vertical spine are formed in one stroke, while the left side of the head is added with an additional stroke, as in the ninth-century upside-down-h form of *waw*.<sup>824</sup> As mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, Hebrew maintains the Phoenician cup-shaped form of *waw* through the ninth century and develops a more *hamza*-headed<sup>825</sup> form by the end of the eighth.

*zayin* – Aramaic, like Phoenician, *zayin* initially stands upright (Gozan pedestal).<sup>826</sup> It begins to rotate in a counterclockwise direction during the ninth century, and this rotation persists in the eighth century, though upright examples still occur (Kitamuwa stele, Bar-Rakib and Sefire inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, and some examples in Melqart and Zakkur stelae). *Zayin* is initially I-shaped, with vertical and horizontal strokes of roughly the same length.<sup>827</sup> This form occurs in Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions in the tenth-eighth centuries. In comparison with most other letters, *zayin* is typically shorter, though taller examples exist (one of the examples in the Gozan pedestal).<sup>828</sup>

Over the course of the second half of the ninth-eighth centuries, under the influence of cursive writing, *zayin* changes from an I- to a z-shape (Hazeal Eretria plate, Zakkur and Kitamuwa

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<sup>824</sup> Cf. also the similar transitional forms of *waw* found in the ninth-century Phoenician Nora stone and in some of the examples of *waw* in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions.

<sup>825</sup> See the Hebrew-script chapter.

<sup>826</sup> The Phoenician Shipitba'al *zayin* and one of the two Aramaic Gozan pedestal *zayins* exhibit clockwise rotation. This rotation is not typical. As noted above, the script of the Gozan pedestal inscription exhibits some minor inconsistencies.

<sup>827</sup> Cross ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual," 403 = *Leaves*, 57) says that the Gozan pedestal *zayin*'s vertical shaft is longer than its horizontal cross strokes; however, this is only true of *zayin*'s bottom stroke in this inscription. Other exceptions are found in the following inscriptions. In the Hazeal Arslan Tash ivory, *zayin*'s horizontal strokes might be slightly longer than its vertical shaft. In the Phoenician tenth-century 'Ahiiram sarcophagus and eighth-century Ba'al Lebanon bowl, *zayin*'s vertical shafts are longer than its horizontal cross strokes. In the Phoenician Kitamuwa stele, *zayin*'s horizontal strokes are longer than its vertical shaft. Cf. the following note.

<sup>828</sup> As noted above, the script of the Gozan pedestal inscription exhibits some minor inconsistencies, and this tall *zayin* appears just beside an unusually large *dalet*.

stelae, Bar Rakib inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue).<sup>829</sup> During this period of change, *zayin* exhibits a transitional form, in which the vertical stroke begins to slant toward the right end of the top horizontal stroke and toward the left end of the bottom horizontal stroke (Tel Dan stele, Hazael Samos plate, one of the examples in the Melqart stele).<sup>830</sup> In this transition period, all of the forms of *zayin*—the I-, z-, and transitional forms—appear in the epigraphic record.<sup>831</sup>

During the second half of the eighth century, a distinct Aramaic form of *zayin* develops. In the cursive inscriptions, Aramaic *zayin*’s z-shape begins to flatten out into an undulating oblique line. This form is seen in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #3. Phoenician *zayin* retains its z-shape. Hebrew *zayin* maintains an I-shape throughout the early Iron II period. Also, during the eighth century, Hebrew *zayin* maintains a short vertical shaft, while its horizontals grow quite long; and it develops ticks on the right side of its lower and sometimes upper horizontal bars.

**ḥet** – In the late tenth—eighth-century Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, *ḥet* is ladder-shaped, with two vertical shafts on the left and right. In between these shafts lie typically three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel bars. These bars may be horizontal or angled downward to the left. *Ḥet*’s vertical shafts extend above and/or below its parallel bars on one or both sides. It exhibits counterclockwise rotation, though upright examples occur (Hazael Nimrud ivory, Bar-Rakib inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, Kitamuwa stele), and some inscriptions have both upright and counterclockwise-rotated examples (Hazael Arslan Tash ivory; Hamath bricks #9, 13-16, 18, 23-24; Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #2, 12).

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<sup>829</sup> Haines concludes that the Phoenician and Aramaic *zayins* part ways in the eighth century, as Phoenician retains the I-shaped *zayin* (“Paleographical Study,” 486-97, 502). However, new data disproves this conclusion. The more recently found eighth-century Phoenician Kition bowl has a z-shaped *zayin*, and H. Çambel’s new published photographs of the Karatepe inscriptions reveal that a z-shaped *zayin* was employed there as well during the eighth century (Çambel, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luvian Inscriptions II. Karatepe-Aslantaş. The Inscriptions: Facsimilé Edition* [New York: W. de Gruyter, 1999]).

<sup>830</sup> Haines says that the Zakkur and Bar-Rakib inscriptions also have some examples of *zayin* with this transitional form (“Paleographical Study,” 133). I see only z-shaped *zayins* in the Zakkur and Bar-Rakib inscriptions. No extant Phoenician texts have examples of the transitional form of *zayin*, though the ninth—eighth-century inscriptional record shows that the change from an I- to a z-shaped *zayin* does occur in the Phoenician script during this period. For this reason, the transitional form of *zayin* cannot be seen as a distinguishing feature of ninth-century Aramaic script.

<sup>831</sup> Cf. the discussion “Old and New Forms” in the Methodology chapter.

*Ḥet* provides an additional illustration of the way in which the Aramaic and Phoenician scripts diverge in the eighth century. In both scripts the form of the letter begins to break down, and one or more of *ḥet*'s parallel bars no longer touches its vertical shaft(s) (Aramaic Hamath bricks #9, 14-15; some examples in the Phoenician Ba'al Lebanon bowl and Karatepe inscriptions, so also in the Carthage pendant and Malta stele). However, in the second half of the eighth century, in the Aramaic script, two- (Bar-Rakib inscriptions)<sup>832</sup> and one-barred (Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #2, 12)<sup>833</sup> *ḥets* appear, and the one-barred type becomes the standard form of Aramaic *ḥet* in subsequent periods.<sup>834</sup> This one-barred *ḥet* typically has an H- (Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #12) or *pi*- (Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #2) shape. Hebrew *ḥet* remains intact in the early Iron II period; it also develops an alternate two-barred form that appears throughout this period.

*ṭet* – The typical form of *ṭet* in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions in the tenth-eighth centuries is a circle with either an x or a + inside.<sup>835</sup> It is as large as most other letters, especially in comparison with the circular 'ayin discussed below. The Amman Citadel inscription, however, preserves an alternate form of *ṭet* in this period that is *theta*-shaped—a circle with only one diagonal cross bar—and this form is present in both Phoenician (tenth-century Shipitba'al inscription) and Aramaic (eighth-century Bar-Rakib inscriptions) inscriptions. The theta-form of *ṭet* becomes

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<sup>832</sup> The late ninth—early eighth-century Amman Citadel inscription might also have a two-barred *ḥet*, though the letter in question is damaged making it difficult to determine how many bars it originally had. Starcky draws some of the Sefire *ḥets* as two-barred ("Remarques épigraphiques," in Dupont-Sommer and Starcky, "Les inscriptions araméens de Sfiré [Stèles I et II]," 332: IA-31:1; IB-29:1; 32:1; 38:1; IIB-6:1; III-10:4). Additionally, Haines ("Paleographical Study," 141 n.2, Pl. II) suggests that at least one of Starcky's two-barred examples of *ḥet* might have only one bar (Sefire IA, line 31, example 1). It is impossible to determine in the published photographs of Sefire I and II if the *ḥets* in question have either two or three bars. However, the images of Sefire III are available on InscriptiFact (n.p. [cited 13 September], online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com)). Based on these images, I believe that all *ḥets* in Sefire III have three bars. (Note that the fourth *ḥet* in line ten of Sefire III that Starcky draws as two-barred is actually damaged. The top of the letter has been broken off.) Naveh draws the *ḥet* in Hamath brick #9 as two-barred (*Development*, Fig. 2). The images in Otzen's publication of the Hamath bricks ("Appendix 2," 282) make clear this *ḥet* has three bars.

<sup>833</sup> Hamath brick #14 might also preserve a one-barred *ḥet*. In between the vertical shafts of this *ḥet*, one bar is clearly incised; however, there are additional marks between the shafts, and it is not clear whether they are parallel bars or only scratches. It is not clear whether the *ḥet* in Hamath brick #24 has one or two bars. Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 2) and Attardo ("Utilità della paleografia," 122) draw the *ḥet* in Hamath brick #16 as one-barred. The images in Otzen's publication of the Hamath bricks ("Appendix 2," 289) make clear this *ḥet* has three bars.

<sup>834</sup> For later examples of *ḥet*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, "Palaeographical Study."

<sup>835</sup> There are no *ṭets* in the extant ninth-century Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions.



predominant in the Aramaic script from the seventh century on.<sup>836</sup> This form is also found rarely in early Iron II Hebrew inscriptions, but the Hebrew script maintains a preference for the x-/+-shaped type.

**yod** – Late tenth—eighth-century Aramaic *yod* parallels Phoenician *yod*. It is either “2” or “z-shaped,”<sup>837</sup> with an additional stroke midway down its spine on the left. In other words, *yod* is made up of a head stroke, an oblique spine, a foot stroke, and a tongue. Its head, foot, and tongue strokes are roughly the same length. Its foot extends from the oblique spine to the bottom-right, either straight across or angled slightly upward.<sup>838</sup> A distinct Hebrew *yod* can be identified in inscriptions from the late ninth-early eighth century. In this period it develops a tick on the right side of its foot. During the eighth century, its upper oblique and tongue stroke bend toward each other forming a triangular head, and its tongue begins to pierce its oblique spine on the right side.

In the late tenth—early ninth-century Aramaic Gozan pedestal, both upright and counterclockwise-rotated examples of *yod* occur. In the subsequent ninth—eighth-century Aramaic inscriptions, as in the Phoenician inscriptions, *yod* prefers counterclockwise rotation, though upright examples still are present (Hazeal Eretria plate, Tel Dan bowl, Hamath bricks #1-2, 6; some examples in the Bar-Rakib inscriptions and Kitamuwa stele).

**kap** – The earliest example of *kap* in an Aramaic inscription is found in the late tenth—early ninth-century Gozan pedestal. It has a three-pronged head. The head’s middle prong splits equally the distance between its left and right prongs, as in tenth-century Phoenician trident-shaped *kaps*.

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<sup>836</sup> Cf. the discussion of anticipatory forms in the Methodology chapter. For later examples of *tet*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, “Palaeographical Study.”

<sup>837</sup> (Though the z-shaped *yod* is obviously more angular than the 2-shaped form, even this form has soft and less angular edges at times.) Haines (“Paleographical Study,” 155-56) thinks that the rounded form of *yod* is typologically significant and does not appear in the epigraphic record before the ninth century. (He regards the form of the Phoenician Byblian *yods* as “an ephemeral development”). Lemaire states that *yod* is more angular in Aramaic and more rounded in Phoenician during the eighth century (“Notes d’épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique,” *Syria* 3/4 [1987]: 214). Neither Haines nor Lemaire are correct. Both round 2-shaped and more angular z-shaped forms of *yod* are acceptable contemporary forms of *yod* throughout the tenth-eighth centuries in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions.

<sup>838</sup> The foot of the Gozan pedestal *yod* angles downward. This is atypical.

However, unlike tenth-century Phoenician forms, the Gozan pedestal *kap*’s right prong has lengthened at the bottom, forming a short tail, and the whole letter exhibits counterclockwise rotation.<sup>839</sup> During the ninth-eighth centuries, in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, *kap* maintains this counterclockwise-rotated stance,<sup>840</sup> and its right prong/tail continues to lengthen,<sup>841</sup> slanting from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction, either straight down or with slight curvature.

As discussed above, another form of *kap* also appears in the late ninth-early eighth centuries (Kilamuwa sheath, Melqart stele, one example in the Amman Citadel inscription).<sup>842</sup> In this alternate form, *kap*’s left prong breaks away from the rest of its head and slides up its middle prong. This becomes the standard form of *kap* in the eighth-century Aramaic (and Phoenician)<sup>843</sup> inscriptions, though the earlier form still occurs (Bar-Rakib inscriptions, Kitamuwa stele); and some inscriptions

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<sup>839</sup> The tail of *kap* in the Gozan pedestal inscription stands completely vertical, though the tail of *kap* in ninth-eighth century Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions typically slants from top to bottom in a right-to-left direction. A similar vertical example of *kap* is also seen in the late eighth—early seventh-century Phoenician Malta stele.

<sup>840</sup> Cross states that *kap* rotates in a clockwise direction in ninth-century Aramaic (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual,” 407 = *Leaves*, 58-59). On the contrary, as compared to upright tenth-century Phoenician trident-shaped *kaps*, the head of ninth-century Aramaic *kap* has tilted in a counterclockwise direction.

<sup>841</sup> Cross argues that the Phoenician and the Aramaic scripts are distinguished in the ninth century by the elongation of Aramaic *kap*’s (along with other letters’) stem (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual,” 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>842</sup> Though this developed form of *kap* is not seen in ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions, it cannot be seen as a distinguishing feature of a distinct ninth-century Aramaic script, as there is only one extant Phoenician inscription from the second half of the ninth century (Kilamuwa stele), and some extant Aramaic inscriptions from this period also exhibit the undeveloped form of *kap* (Tel Dan stele, all but one examples in the Amman Citadel inscription). Furthermore, the developed form of *kap* does appear in eighth-century Phoenician inscriptions.

<sup>843</sup> Haines says this forked form is also seen in the Hadad and Panamuwa II statues (“Paleographical Study,” 168, Pl. III). Cross draws this form in the Zakkur stele (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual Inscription,” 405 = *Leaves*, 59). Fales draws this form in Nimrud lion weight CIS II, #6 (“Assyro-Aramaica,” 40). I do not observe this form in these inscriptions.

Note also that in some of the eighth—early seventh-century Phoenician inscriptions, *kap*’s left and middle prongs are joined at their left ends by another line, thereby forming a triangle (Seville statuette, one of the two forms in the Malta stele). Haines says that this form of *kap* is also seen in the Zakkur stele. He says that in this inscription the “triangle” effect “is created when the stone between the upper and lower left strokes breaks away leaving a triangle impression at the end of the upper stroke.” He also sees a triangular *kap* in the Sefire inscriptions and says that this example might be an attempt to reproduce the triangular Zakkur example (“Paleographical Study,” 166-68; Pl. II). I only observe triangular *kaps* in the Phoenician inscriptions. Furthermore, Haines argues that Phoenician and Aramaic *kaps* distinguish themselves in the eighth century (“Paleographical Study,” 163-70, 487, 490, cf. 502-03); however, this is not the case. His conclusion is based upon his misunderstanding of the form of the Kilamuwa *kap*, as well as a failure to recognize the variety of forms of *kap* that exist in both traditions in this period.

exhibit both types (Bar-Rakib bars, Panamuwa II statue, Hamath bricks #1-2).<sup>844</sup> Note also that an additional form of *kap* is found in some eighth-century Aramaic inscriptions. In this form *kap*'s left and middle prongs have combined into a single prong with a fork at the end (some examples in the Sefire inscriptions and some in the Bar-Rakib silver bars). Hebrew *kap* is especially identified by its tail, which curls up during the ninth century; it also maintains an upright stance. During the eighth its head also begins to breakdown; its middle prong slides up its left.

*lamed* – In the ninth-eighth centuries, in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, *lamed* is hook-shaped, and its hook may be round or sharply angled,<sup>845</sup> with both hook types often occurring within the same inscription (Melqart stele, Sefire inscriptions, Hamath bricks #1-2, 4-7, 12, 25; Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #2-6, 8-9, 14). The upper part of the letter is longer than the lower.

Furthermore, in this period, also in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, all letters essentially hang from a scribal ceiling line in a relatively side-by-side position. The one exception to this is the letter *lamed*, which begins to move upward during the ninth century, with the result that it penetrates this ceiling line (Tel Dan stele, Hazael Arslan Tash ivory and Eretria plate, Amman Citadel inscription, Kilamuwa sheath, Melqart stele).<sup>846</sup> In the eighth century, *lamed* maintains this elevated position (Sefire inscriptions, Hadad statue, Bar-Rakib bars, Hamath bricks #4, 7), though this penetration is still not seen in all inscriptions. No distinctive Hebrew *lamed* appears in the early Iron II period.

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<sup>844</sup> Dion suggests that there is something unique about the form of *kap* in the Zincirli inscriptions. He says “Notons bien cependant qu’une forme ancienne du *kaf*, celle de *Kilamuwa*, reste prédominante en P (Panamuwa II statue) comme en H (Hadad statue), bien qu’elle alterne dans ces inscriptions avec une forme plus récente....” He goes on to say that this “*kaf* plutôt stationnaire” is an example of “l’originalité de l’ensemble de la tradition scribale de Zincirli” (*La Langue de Ya’udi*, 46-47). There is nothing about the form of *kap* present at Zincirli that suggests there was an independent scribal tradition there.

<sup>845</sup> So also Cross, commenting only on the ninth century (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel,’” 16 = *Leaves*, 96). Lemaire states that *lamed* is more angular in Aramaic and more rounded in Phoenician during the eighth century (“Notes d’épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique,” 214). This is not the case. Rounded and angular forms of *lamed* are found in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions during the eighth century as well.

<sup>846</sup> Haines argues that *lamed* penetrates the ceiling line during the tenth century (“Paleographical Study,” 177). I do not observe this penetration in the epigraphic record before the ninth century.

*mem* – The earliest example of *mem* in an Aramaic inscription is found in the late tenth—early ninth-century Gozan pedestal. It has a five-stroke, zigzag shape. Its bottom stroke is noteworthy, as it is significantly shorter than its upper four strokes, resembling hardly more than a tick, and giving the letter a rather archaic appearance. In the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions, *mem*'s bottom stroke begins to elongate and is slightly longer than its upper four strokes. In the ninth-eighth centuries, this bottom stroke continues to elongate, as seen in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from this period, forming a tail that extends downward, either straight or with slight curvature.<sup>847</sup>

Additionally, in the late tenth-early ninth centuries, *mem* begins to rotate counterclockwise from vertical (one of the examples in the Gozan pedestal). It continues to rotate in this direction throughout the ninth-eighth centuries, until its top four strokes lie completely horizontal or nearly so, forming a distinct body and tail.<sup>848</sup> Hebrew *mem* distinguishes itself during the ninth century. Its tail curls up at the end, and its head begins to lose its symmetrical zigzag shape and to be formed with two asymmetrical check marks.

As discussed in the previous chapter, in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe and Incirli inscriptions, *mem* is made up of not five strokes but three; its zig-zagged head has broken down. Its

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<sup>847</sup> Cross argues that the Phoenician and the Aramaic scripts are distinguished in the ninth century by the elongation of Aramaic *mem*'s (along with other letters') stem ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59; idem, "Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription,'" 16 = *Leaves*, 96). He states that Phoenician *mem*'s lengthened tail is a development at the beginning of the eighth century ("The Old Phoenician Inscription from Spain Dedicated to Hurrian Astarte," *HTR* 64 [1971], 193-94 = *Leaves*, 275). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

Haines says that "the end stroke at the left of the head (of some examples of *mem* in the Zakkur inscription) has lengthened upward and added a tick to the left at the top" ("Paleographical Study," 190). I observe no such ticks.

<sup>848</sup> Some of the Hamath bricks still have upright examples (#13, 45). Haines says that the *mems* in the ninth-century Aramaic inscriptions might exhibit more counterclockwise rotation than those in the ninth-century Phoenician inscriptions, and that this might indicate one distinction that separates early Aramaic formal script from early Phoenician formal script in the last half of the ninth century ("Paleographical Study," 188-89, 486, 490). However, because (1) the examples of ninth-century Phoenician *mems* are limited, (2) the ninth-century Aramaic *mems* exhibit varying degrees of counterclockwise rotation, and (3) the eighth-century *mems* in both the Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions also exhibit varying degrees of counterclockwise rotation, and no examples from either of these sets of inscriptions stand out as being noticeably different from any of the others, I do not believe that Phoenician and Aramaic *mems* exhibit significant stance differences with regard to each other in either the ninth or eighth centuries.

Cross states that *mem* rotates in a clockwise direction in ninth-century Aramaic ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual," 407 = *Leaves*, 58-59). On the contrary, as compared to upright tenth-century Phoenician Byblian *mem*, the head of ninth-century Aramaic *mem* has tilted in a counterclockwise direction.

head is made up of two strokes, a bent one which touches the tail stroke and another straight one which divides the bent stroke into two parts, by either just touching it or by piercing it completely through. This *mem* anticipates the form of *mem* that becomes dominant in the Phoenician script in the seventh century and later. Though no securely-dated eighth-century Aramaic inscription exhibits this form of *mem*, a similar form is seen in seventh-century and later Aramaic inscriptions.<sup>849</sup>

**nun** – Ninth—eighth-century Aramaic *nun* imitates the Phoenician. It has a three-stroke, zigzag shape, and its tail stroke extends down, either straight or with slight curvature, and is somewhat longer than its upper two strokes.<sup>850</sup> This tail stroke elongates throughout this period. *Nun* typically stands upright; and its middle stroke, often referred to as its “shoulder,” goes straight across or angles slightly upward or downward.<sup>851</sup> In the ninth century, Hebrew *nun*’s tail curls up at the end, and its head takes on a check mark shape that is attached to its tail stroke somewhat below the top.

**samek** – Throughout the ninth-eighth centuries, in Aramaic (and Phoenician) inscriptions, *samek* occurs rarely; consequently it undergoes little development. It is formed with a tall vertical stroke, crossed at the top by three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel, horizontal bars. The vertical stroke at times just pierces the top horizontal bar. It may stand upright or exhibit slight counterclockwise rotation.

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<sup>849</sup> For later examples of Aramaic *mem*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, “Palaeographical Study.” Fales draws the form of *mem* in Nimrud lion weight CIS II, #12 similar to the three-stroke Karatepe and Incirli *mems*, (“Assyro-Aramaica,” 45). Attardo also sees this form in the Sefire inscriptions (“Utilità della paleografia,” 126, 138). I see a five-stroke, zigzagged *mem* in both of these inscriptions.

<sup>850</sup> Cross states that *nun* in the Amman Citadel inscription “shows elongation, a ninth-century Aramaic hallmark” (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,’” 16 = *Leaves*, 96; idem, “Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual,” 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59); however, he also states that “In fact this lengthening is found in tenth-century Phoenician and Hebrew” (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual,” 406 = *Leaves*, 58). These statements are contradictory. Furthermore, as Cross is correct in noting that Phoenician inscriptions from the tenth century (as well as from the ninth and eighth centuries) exhibit *nuns* with elongated bottom strokes, this elongation cannot be seen as a distinguishing feature of a ninth-century Aramaic script. See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>851</sup> Cross states that *nun* rotates in a clockwise direction in ninth-century Aramaic (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fahariyeh Bilingual,” 407 = *Leaves*, 58-59). I see no examples of ninth-century Aramaic *nun* that exhibit substantial clockwise rotation.

During the eighth century, the vertical stroke of Aramaic *samek* stops piercing its horizontal bars (Bar-Rakib inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, Kitamuwa stele, Hamath brick #2,<sup>852</sup> Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #7).<sup>853</sup> There are only a handful of examples of Phoenician *samek* from the eighth century; in all of these, the vertical shaft pierces the horizontal bars. However, later inscriptions show that Phoenician *samek* eventually undergoes a development similar to Aramaic.<sup>854</sup> During the late ninth-early eighth century, Hebrew *samek* also undergoes a similar development.<sup>855</sup> Its vertical shaft begins to stop piercing its horizontal bars. Furthermore, cursive ticks also appear on the right end of at least one or all three of these horizontal bars, and the letter begins to penetrate the scribal ceiling line.

**‘ayin** – In both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, ninth-century ‘ayin has a round, circular shape and is smaller than surrounding letters. Hebrew ‘ayin begins to flatten on its top-left side during this period. By the second half of the eighth century, in Aramaic inscriptions, the head of ‘ayin begins to open (Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #1, 11),<sup>856</sup> likely a result of rapid cursive execution, and this is the typical form of Aramaic ‘ayin in subsequent centuries. This change is anticipated in the late ninth—early eighth-century Amman Citadel inscription. One of its three examples is open at the top. Though Phoenician ‘ayin also anticipates this change,<sup>857</sup> it does not consistently open until the end of the sixth-beginning of the fifth centuries. Hebrew ‘ayin remains closed throughout the early Iron II period.

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<sup>852</sup> In Hamath brick #1, the vertical stroke of *samek* penetrates only the bottom horizontal bar. This might also be the case in #16; however, #16 is damaged and its precise form is unclear.

<sup>853</sup> Haines does not note this development for the Bar-Rakib or Panamuwa II inscriptions (“Paleographical Study,” 212).

<sup>854</sup> For later examples of Phoenician *samek*, see the discussions on seventh-century Phoenician in Peckham, *Development of the Late Phoenician Scripts*.

<sup>855</sup> Cf. the discussion “Common Developments Do Not Indicate Mutual Influence” in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>856</sup> Haines draws an ‘ayin with an open head in his script chart of Sefire I, though he does not include this in his discussion of ‘ayin. (“Paleographical Study,” 224-25, Pl. II). I observe only ‘ayins with closed heads in Sefire I.

<sup>857</sup> Cf. the discussion of anticipatory features in the Methodology chapter and of ‘ayin in the Kition bowl and in Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 4.1.1 and 4.1.12 in the previous Phoenician-script chapter.

*pe* – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Aramaic *pe* stands upright or rotated slightly clockwise. It parallels Phoenician *pe* and is almost an inverted image of *lamed*, having a short fore-stroke that curves downward—either sharply or roundly—into a longer diagonal tail.<sup>858</sup> Hebrew *pe*’s tail curls up at the end during the ninth century.

*šade* – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Aramaic *šade* mirrors Phoenician *šade*. It is rotated counterclockwise from vertical and is made up of a “z” that is attached by its top stroke to a vertical shaft on the left.<sup>859</sup> This vertical shaft lengthens throughout this period.<sup>860</sup> In contrast, Hebrew *šade* maintains a short vertical shaft throughout the early Iron II period; it develops a tick on the right end of the bottom stroke of its z-shaped body in the late ninth-early eighth century.

*qop* – In the ninth-early eighth centuries, in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, *qop* is composed of a circular head that is fully bisected into two equal parts by a vertical shaft.<sup>861</sup> This shaft elongates throughout this period. *Qop* favors counterclockwise rotation, though upright examples also occur (Bar-Rakib inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, Hamath brick #19).

During the course of the eighth century, likely due to cursive execution, *qop* undergoes distinct development in both the Aramaic and Phoenician scripts. In both scripts *qop*’s circular head breaks down. In the Phoenician script, *qop*’s head is no longer made with a singular circular stroke, but rather with two separate strokes, forming two distinct semi-circles. In the Aramaic script, a similar phenomenon occurs (Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #3; some of the examples in the Zakkur stele and Sefire inscriptions); however, *qop*’s head begins to open at the top (Bar-Rakib inscriptions,

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<sup>858</sup> The example of *pe* in the Nimrud lion weights (*CIS* II, #10) is idiosyncratic and not helpful for palaeographic analysis. Fales draws it with a closed head, resembling a *resh* with clockwise rotation (“Assyro-Aramaica,” 43). I believe the head is open, and the entire letter resembles a question mark (without the dot).

<sup>859</sup> Note that the Amman Citadel inscription has an atypical form of *šade*. This is discussed in more detail in the section of this chapter dedicated to that inscription.

<sup>860</sup> Cross states that the “long leg (of *šade*) is characteristic of ninth-century Aramaic, eighth-century Phoenician” (“Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,’” 14 = *Leaves*, 95). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>861</sup> The vertical shaft of *qop* might occasionally just penetrate the top of the head. Note, for example, some *qops* in the Sefire inscriptions.

Panamuwa II statue, Kitamuwa stele, Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #14<sup>862</sup>). Furthermore, Aramaic *qop* undergoes additional change in the second half of the eighth century, as the arc of the left side of its head migrates up the vertical shaft, while the arc of the right side migrates down; the execution of this form is simplified as the head begins to be drawn with a cursive S-stroke (Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #11).<sup>863</sup> As mentioned in the previous chapter, Hebrew *qop*’s head begins to break down in the ninth century. It begins to be formed with two semi-circular strokes, and the bottom of its right stroke intersects its vertical shaft in a lower position than does the bottom of its left stroke. Also, its vertical shaft no longer fully divides its head but only partially intersects it. By the late ninth-early eighth century, Hebrew *qop* begins to penetrate the ceiling line, and by the eighth century, its head begins to open.

**resh** – Ninth—eighth-century Aramaic *resh*, like Phoenician *resh*, is composed of a vertical spine on the right, with a sharp or blunted triangular head on the left. Occasionally examples with very round heads occur (Melqart stele; Hamath bricks #1, 14, 29).<sup>864</sup> *Resh* seems to favor a counterclockwise stance, though upright examples are seen (Bar-Rakib inscriptions), and some inscriptions have both upright and counterclockwise-rotated examples (Hazeal Samos plate, Sefire

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<sup>862</sup> Attardo sees an open form of *qop* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #13 (“Utilità della paleografia,” 130-31). I believe this form is closed.

Dion notes that in the Zincirli inscriptions, *qop* begins to open on the right side, and he associates this phenomenon with Zincirli. He says, “Quant au *qof* de P (Panamuwa II) (et de Barr [Bar-Rakib]), remarqué depuis longtemps pour sa boucle ouverte du côté droit, il ne semble représenter qu’une particularité locale, sans avenir dans la tradition graphique araméenne” (*La Langue de Ya’udi*, 46-47). However, the fact that the head of *qop* is open on both sides in at least one of the Nimrud lion weights (and in later Aramaic inscriptions) seems to suggest that this phenomenon was not unique to Zincirli and did continue in Aramaic. Cf. Dion’s discussion of *kap* in note 844.

<sup>863</sup> Fales sees the *qop* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #11 differently. He draws an open-headed form similar to that found in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #14 (“Assyro-Aramaica,” 44). To my eye, the form of *qop* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #11 appears as I have described it above.

<sup>864</sup> As with *bet* and *dalet*, despite the range of forms of *resh*’s head that occur in the Aramaic and Phoenician epigraphic records during the tenth-ninth centuries, various scholars (see example below) argue that the shape of *resh*’s head is typologically significant during this period. This is not the case. Cf. the discussion of rounded/pointed heads in the methodology chapter of this study.

Haines says that a *resh* with a more rounded head is typologically later than one with a more angular head (“Paleographical Study,” 266-67). As demonstrated by my study presented here, and especially illustrated by my script charts, both sharp and more rounded *resh* heads are attested throughout the tenth-eighth centuries in Aramaic (and Phoenician) inscriptions.



inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, Kitamuwa stele, Hamath bricks #1-2, 13-14, 17, 19, 24, 27-29, 45, 47, Aramaic Ostrakon #1).

In the ninth century, in both Aramaic and Phoenician inscriptions, *resh* is easily distinguished from *dalet*, as its stem is considerably longer than *dalet*'s. Throughout the ninth-eighth centuries, the stems of both *dalet* and *resh*<sup>865</sup> grow, though *dalet*'s stem grows at a faster rate. Consequently, during the eighth century, these letters become harder to distinguish from one another (Bar-Rakib inscriptions, Panamuwa II statue, Kitamuwa stele).<sup>866</sup> Hebrew develops no distinct form of *resh* throughout the early Iron II period.

***shin*** – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Aramaic *shin* mirrors its Phoenician contemporary. It is typically smaller than most other letters and has an upright stance. It is w-shaped, made up of four strokes which are roughly equal in length.<sup>867</sup> During the ninth century, Hebrew *shin* begins to lose its symmetrical w-shape and to be formed with two asymmetrical check marks.

***taw*** – In the early Iron II period, Aramaic and Phoenician *taw* are indistinguishable. Both may be either +- or x-shaped. In the late tenth—early ninth-century Aramaic Gozan pedestal, *taw* has a compact x-shape, made up of two strokes of equal length. It resembles *taw* in most of the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions. However, around the end of the tenth century, as seen in the

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<sup>865</sup> Cross argues that the Phoenician and the Aramaic scripts are distinguished in the ninth century by the elongation of Aramaic *resh*'s (along with other letters') stem ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāhāriyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 55, 58-59). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>866</sup> This difficulty is first seen in the late ninth—early eighth-century Aramaic Hazael Eretria piece.

Also, though some eighth-century examples of cursive Aramaic *resh* are open at the bottom (Hamath bricks #17, 27; Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #2-3, 7, 11), I do not regard these examples as typologically significant, as *resh* does not develop in this way in subsequent centuries. For later examples of *resh*, see the discussions on seventh-century Aramaic in Naveh, *Development*, 15-21, Fig. 2, 51-54; and in Haines, "Palaeographical Study." Note that Fales draws *resh* in Nimrud lion weights *CIS* II, #7 and 11 with an opening at the top of the head rather than at the bottom. (He draws the first example of *resh* in #11 with an opening both at the top and bottom) ("Assyro-Aramaica," 40, 44). I see an opening at the bottom of the head but not at the top. Likewise, Haines draws the *resh* in Nimrud lion weight *CIS*, II #3 with a head that is open at the top rather than the bottom. He does not mention this example in his discussion of Aramaic *resh* ("Paleographical Study," 268-69, Pl. IV). Haines's drawing is incorrect. Furthermore, Haines says that at least one example of *resh* in the Sefire inscriptions (III, line 14, example) has an open-topped head but that it is doubtful that the scribe intended for this form to be open ("Paleographical Study," 268, Pl. II). Further examination of this example of *resh* reveals that the head is closed.

<sup>867</sup> Haines argues that there were two forms of *shin* in use during the ninth-eighth centuries—(1) a w-shaped form with four strokes of equal length and (2) another form whose two inner strokes came together at their midpoints to form a single stroke ("Paleographical Study," 277-81). Though several poorly executed letters in the inscriptional corpus might exhibit the second form, based on the overwhelming number of examples of form one, it is clear that this was the intended form of the letter.

Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription, one of *taw*'s strokes begins to lengthen, forming a tail, and this lengthening continues in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions in the ninth-eighth centuries.<sup>868</sup> Additionally, during the latter half of the ninth century, the shorter cross stroke of *taw* begins to shorten even further on the left side (Hazeal Arslan Tash ivory and Samos plate; so also in the eighth century: Hadad and Panamuwa II statues; Hamath bricks #1-2, 4; Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #1;<sup>869</sup> some examples in the Sefire inscriptions).<sup>870</sup>

## Conclusion

In conclusion, the above analysis demonstrates that in the late tenth-ninth centuries, Aramaic scribes followed the Phoenician writing tradition (a tradition that was distinct from the inchoate Hebrew tradition employed further south). An individual Aramaic script tradition emerged in the eighth century, and the distinctive features of this script are most readily identified in the Aramaic cursive inscriptions. This is not surprising, as these features can best be explained as a result of the rapid cursive execution of letter forms. Nonetheless, some of these letter features also can be

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<sup>868</sup> In Cross's 1987 article on the Nora fragment, he states that the "lengthening of (*taw*'s) final stroke downward (is) an innovation in Phoenician and Aramaic at the end of the tenth or the beginning of the ninth century. Hebrew (and its Moabite derivative) preserves the archaic 'X-form'" ("The Oldest Phoenician Inscription from Sardinia: The Fragmentary Stele from Nora," *Working with no Data: Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Th. O. Lambdin* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1987], 70, 70 n.6 = *Leaves*, 262, 262 n.17). However in his 1995 article on the Tell Fakhariyeh stele, Cross says "The vertical down-stroke of *taw* in the Gozan text has lengthened beyond the earlier 'X'-form. This is an Aramaic trait (in this period). Both Hebrew and Phoenician *taw* retain an 'X'-form, in Hebrew for centuries, in Phoenician through the ninth century" ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyeh Bilingual," 398, 406-07 = *Leaves*, 54, 58-59; cf. idem, "Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 14-17 = *Leaves*, 96-97). Similarly, Athas says in the Tel Dan stele "the form is a long-stemmed *taw*, rather than the shorter equilateral *taw*. This shows a clear Syrian influence over the form of the letter" (*Tel Dan Inscription*, 163). Firstly, I see no appreciable stroke lengthening in the Gozan pedestal *taw*. Secondly, one of *taw*'s strokes has begun to lengthen in the late tenth—early ninth-century Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription and in the ninth-century Phoenician Honeyman inscription and Nora stone. Thus, this lengthening cannot be deemed an "Aramaic (or Syrian) trait" in the ninth century. (Though Haines notes the stroke lengthening in the Honeyman *taw*, he does not do so for either the Shipitba'al or Nora *taws* ["Paleographical Study," 292]). See the discussion of stem elongation above.

<sup>869</sup> Attardo draws a form of *taw* with no cross stroke present on the left side for Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, #11 ("Utilità della paleografia," 133). However, there is no *taw* in this inscription.

<sup>870</sup> Haines says, "confronted with the overwhelming number of Aramaic *taws* which do not have this feature, it is safe to conclude that the Kilamuwa characteristic of shortening the left arm has thus far been resisted by the Aramaic scribes. The few forms in Sefire where this does occur may be a portent of that which is to come" ("Paleographical Study," 293-95, Pl. II). However, it is clear from the Aramaic examples mentioned above that this letter feature is common to both Phoenician and Aramaic.

Note that the *taw* in the Nimrud lion weight *CIS* II, 1 has what appears to be a very small tick. Ticks do not become a feature of Aramaic *taw*. This is an idiosyncrasy. Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

discerned in the formal Aramaic inscriptions, revealing the influence of the contemporary cursive script expression on the formal.<sup>871</sup>

Briefly summarized, the palaeographic features that denote the genesis of the Aramaic script are as follows: In the cursive inscriptions, (1) the head of *'alep* becomes star-shaped; (2) the head of *bet* opens at the top; (3) *he*'s middle and bottom parallel bars detach from its vertical spine and join together to form a single stroke that descends from but is not attached to its upper parallel bar; (4) *zayin*'s z-shape begins to flatten into an undulating line; (5) *het* moves from a three-barred ladder shape to a one-barred H- or *pi*-shape; (6) *mem* maintains a five-stroke, zigzag shape in Aramaic, while Phoenician *mem* breaks down into a three-stroke form; (7) *samek*'s vertical shaft stops penetrating its horizontal bars; (8) circular *'ayin* opens; and (9) *qop*'s head opens at the top and eventually takes a distinct S-shape. Likewise, several of the formal Aramaic inscriptions reveal the influence of the changing cursive script expression.<sup>872</sup> Note, for example, in the Panamuwa II, Kitamuwa, and Bar-Rakib inscriptions (1) *samek*'s vertical shaft does not pierce its horizontal bars and (2) *qop*'s head opens. These letter forms that first appear in the eighth-century Aramaic corpus mark the development of an independent Aramaic script tradition, as they continue to appear and to develop further in the Aramaic inscriptions from the seventh century on. Though the majority of these letter forms first appear in inscriptions dated to the second half of the eighth century, some—such as open-headed *bet* and *samek* whose vertical shaft does not pierce its horizontal bars—also appear in inscriptions whose dates can be narrowed no further than the general eighth century (the Hamath bricks).

## Historical Considerations

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<sup>871</sup> Cf. the discussions of formal and cursive script expressions and of ductus in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>872</sup> See the discussion regarding the interplay of the cursive and formal scripts in the Methodology chapter of this study. Haines also believes that the formal Aramaic script evolved under pressure from the cursive script ("Paleographical Study," 301).

Having determined that an Aramaic script tradition begins to emerge during the eighth century BCE, I will now consider the possible catalyst that led to the development of this distinct tradition. As the Aramaeans had been using the Phoenician script without modification for over a century, this phenomenon bears remark. What circumstance might have occasioned the birth of a distinct Aramaic script series? To form a plausible theory, I turn to the historical situation in early Iron II Aram.

During the tenth-ninth centuries, the region of Syria was composed of various territorial states, including Aramaean and Neo-Hittite<sup>873</sup> power centers such as, Bit-Adini, Bit-Agusi, Aram-Damascus, Hamath, and Sam'al. No one center completely dominated all the others, though in the ninth-century, Aram-Damascus held considerable power during the reigns of Hadad-'idri (mid-ninth century—844 BCE) and Hazael (c.844/2-800).<sup>874</sup>

From the ninth century on, Syria came under the threat of the ever-encroaching Neo-Assyrian Empire, particularly during the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824), with the result that the various

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<sup>873</sup> Over the course of the early Iron II period, many Neo-Hittite city-states absorbed various Aramaic cultural elements, including Aramaic language with its attendant script tradition.

<sup>874</sup> Note that A. Jepsen believes that Hazael expanded the territory of Aram-Damascus in the ninth century and that his son Bir-Hadad was suzerain over all of the territorial states that joined the coalition against Zakkur of Hamath around the beginning of the eighth century ("Israel and Damaskus," *AfO* 14 [1941-45]: 153-72). Likewise, Mazar states that one may speak of an Aramaean empire in Syria, with Aram-Damascus at its helm, during the ninth century. He further argues that Aramaic first developed as a written language with a distinct script during this period and that it spread from Damascus with the formation of this empire. He believes that during the eighth century, the Aramaean empire dissolved, and northern Syria superseded Damascus in importance ("The Aramean Empire and Its Relations with Israel," 97-120). Haines follows Mazar and states that "In fact, since the ninth century B.C. was the period during which the Aramaean states were united under Bir-Hadad I into an empire with Damascus as its capital, the development of a cursive form of writing suitable to the needs of the empire would be expected. Therefore, the Aramaean empire of the ninth century B.C. used not only a formal script but also developed a cursive script which was then used in the administration of the empire" ("Paleographical Study," 503-06). Sass likewise argues for Damascus as a likely candidate for "the starting point of the Aramaic cursive" (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 59).

For a sound critique of both Jepsen and Mazar, see Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, 131, 152-58. See also H. Sader, *Les états araméens de Syrie: Depuis leur fondation jusqu'à transformation en provinces assyriennes* (Beirut: Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden); and the brief response to Sass in M. Heltzer, review of B. Sass, *The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium. The West Semitic Alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE: The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets*, *UF* 36 (2004): 711-16. Dion also disagrees with Haines's conclusion regarding a united Aramaic empire in the ninth-eighth centuries BCE (*La Langue de Ya'udi*, 47). However, I believe Dion misinterprets the evidence on which he founded his conclusion. Cf. Dion's discussion of *kap* and *qop* in notes 844 and 862 above.

I also disagree with Mazar, Haines and Sass, as I have shown that no distinct Aramaic script tradition emerges before the eighth century and, in addition, the only Aramaic inscriptions that may be associated with Damascus in the ninth century are the Tel Dan stele and the Hazael booty inscriptions, all of which are written in the Phoenician script. Furthermore, as I discuss in more detail below, the first traces of a distinct Aramaic script are found in inscriptions from areas outside of Damascus.

territorial states frequently formed temporary alliances in order to face this threat. Many of these coalitions were successful for a time, especially those in the south under the leadership of Hadad-‘idri of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath. Nevertheless, by the end of the ninth-century, much of northern Syria had come under the hegemony of Assyria, which set up various territorial governors in the region. After the death of Hadad-‘idri, the strong southern anti-Assyrian coalitions dissolved, and it seems that Hamath began to practice a “pro-Assyrian foreign policy,”<sup>875</sup> as it no longer appears in the Assyrian campaign records from this period.<sup>876</sup> Damascus, however, withstood Assyria for some time under the leadership of Hazael; yet, after his death, it too was weakened by the attacks of Adad-Nirari III (810-783).

During the first half of the eighth century, the central government of Assyria entered a period of weakness, in the face of the growing power of Urartu, and possibly vis-à-vis the strength of its own provincial governors.<sup>877</sup> During this time of Assyrian weakness, various Syrian territories both rebelled against Assyrian lordship and returned to old patterns of fighting among themselves. However, the tide quickly turned, for after Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BCE) came to the throne in the mid-eighth century, a strong Assyria remerged and finally subdued the whole of Syria.

With this historical background in mind, I return to the question of impetus behind the emergence of a script that was distinctively Aramaic during the eighth century. Who or what might have served as the driving force behind this phenomenon? I raise this question, because we expect that in order for a distinct script tradition to emerge (and spread throughout a region), there must be a

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<sup>875</sup> Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, 171.

<sup>876</sup> This was true from around 845 BCE throughout the reign of Adad-Nirari III, which ended in 783. However, during the reign of Aššur-dan III (772-754), relations between Hamath and Assyria seem to have broken down, as Assyria campaigns in Hamath’s territory (Hazrak) in the years 772, 765, 755. Subsequently, Enlil of Hamath pays tribute to Assyria in 738, and after Yau-bidi usurps Hamath’s throne and rebels against Assyria, Hamath is assimilated into the Assyrian Empire in c.720.

<sup>877</sup> Note especially the powerful *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, whose seat of power was at Til-Barsip (A. Millard, “Eden, Bit Adini and Beth Eden,” *ErIsr* 24 [1993]: 173\*-177\*). J. D. Hawkins has referred to him as the effective “king of the west” (Hawkins, “The New-Hittite States in Syria and Anatolia,” in *CAH*. Volume 3.1, *The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean world, Tenth to Eighth Centuries B.C.* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed.; J. Boardman et al., eds.; Cambridge, 1982], 405).

standardizing influence at work, an influence that is responsible for creating common characteristics of writing. Such homogeneity is typically provided by scribal training, and such training is typically sponsored by administrative power centers. For example, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the appearance of a distinctive Hebrew script appears after the establishment at Jerusalem and Samaria of hegemonic centers with the capability of sponsoring scribal training.

At no time during the early Iron II period did any one Syrian territorial state hold enough power to unite the entire Aramaic-speaking (and writing) populace. Only in the second half of the ninth century, did Aram-Damascus come close to this amount of power and ability to influence the larger region. However, it was not during the ninth-century prime of Aram-Damascus that an independent Aramaic script developed but later during the eighth century, a time when no one Aramaean or Aramaic-speaking center held any great sway. In this period when no dominant Aramaean power exerted influence, what force or circumstance existed in the region that could have promoted the rise of an independent Aramaic script tradition? The answer seems to lie in Assyria, as during the eighth century, this empire was the only major force uniting various Syrian territories. Assyrian domination was the region's common denominator.

Over the course of Assyria's subjugation of the region of Syria, the empire encountered the Aramaic language with its attendant linear alphabetic script. It began to employ Aramaic alongside Akkadian for administrative purposes, and Aramaic quickly became one of the empire's official languages. This is best exemplified by eighth-century Assyrian depictions of two scribes working side-by-side, one writing in Akkadian and another writing in Aramaic;<sup>878</sup> and by the Nimrud lion

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<sup>878</sup> C. J. Gadd, British Museum, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, *The Assyrian Sculptures* (London: The British Museum, 1934), 69; F. Thureau-Dangin et al., *Til Barsib* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1936), Pl. L, xxiv g-h; S. Smith, British Museum, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum: From Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib* (London: The British Museum, 1938), Pls. XI, XLVII, LV; D. J. Wiseman, "Assyrian Writing-Boards," *Iraq* 17 (1955): Pl. III.2 (3-13); R. D. Barnett and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-pileser III* (London: The British Museum, 1962), Pls. V-VI; P. E. Botta and E. N. Flandin, *Monuments de Nineve*. Vol. II Architecture et sculpture, (Paris: Institut de France, 1849; repr. Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1972), Pl. 145; Driver, *Semitic Writing* (cf. the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> eds.), 22 and fig.4; Pls. 23, #2, 24. Note especially the important article on this material written by H. Tadmor, "On the Role of Aramaic in the Assyrian Empire," in *Near Eastern Studies Dedicated to H. I. H. Prince Takahito Mikasa on the Occasion of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Bulletin of the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan 5 (M. Mori, H. Ogawa, and M. Yoshikawa, eds.; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991): 419-26.

weights, doubly inscribed in Akkadian and Aramaic, and bearing the names of Tiglath-pileser III and later Assyrian kings. (In this respect, I should also mention, the early eighth-century Nimrud wine-lists that allot rations to Assyrian court professionals, including Aramaean scribes.)<sup>879</sup>

Furthermore, and maybe most importantly, those eighth-century inscriptions that show the emergence of a distinct Aramaic script all come from areas under Assyrian hegemony or influence. These inscriptions are the royal inscriptions from Sam'al, an Assyrian vassal from the ninth century; the bricks from Hamath, an Assyrian ally by the second half of the ninth century and a vassal by the mid-eighth century; and the aforementioned lion weights from Nimrud, whose bilingual Aramaean and Akkadian inscriptions clearly show their use for Assyrian administrative purposes from the mid-eighth century on.

Based on this evidence, I argue that the milieu from which a distinct Aramaic script arose was the atmosphere of Assyrian administration within its Syrian provinces and tributaries in the eighth century. I propose that the advent of the Aramaic script is both a regional and a political phenomenon. To state this clearly, I believe that a distinct Aramaic script emerged in the Aramaic-speaking regions of Syria that were united by their common political situation of Assyrian overlordship.

Once Assyrian hegemony was established in a region, Aramaean scribes (and their trainees) went to work for the Assyrian government set up in various bureaucratic centers, bureaucratic centers that were in communication with one another and consequently influencing one another. It is this administrative system that provided a homogenizing factor, and it is the administrative output of this system's scribes that resulted in the development of a distinctively Aramaic script tradition.

Furthermore, it is this tradition in which subsequent Aramaic scribes were trained, especially as by

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<sup>879</sup> Akkadian and Egyptian scribes are also listed. See especially J. V. Kinnier Wilson, *The Nimrud Wine-Lists* (London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1972); H. Tadmor, "Assyria and the West: The Ninth Century and Its Aftermath," in *Unity and Diversity: Essays in History, Literature, and Religion of the Ancient Near East* (H. Goedicke and J. J. M. Roberts, eds.; Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University, 1975), 42; P. Garelli, "Importance et rôle des Araméens dans l'administration de l'empire assyrien," in *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: Politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Berlin: Reimer, 1982): 437-47.

the seventh century, Aramaic functioned as the *lingua franca* for the administrative affairs of the whole Assyrian empire; and, it is no surprise that consequently during the seventh century, Aramaic script developed rapidly, far more rapidly<sup>880</sup> than the Phoenician script it left behind and the neighboring Hebrew script, to which I now turn.

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<sup>880</sup> See especially Haines, "Paleographical Study," 301, 403-06; Naveh, *Development*, 15, 66; idem, "Scripts in Palestine," 278-79 = *Studies*, 4-5; idem, *Early History*, 84, 99.



## CHAPTER 5: Tenth-Century Inscriptions from Southern Canaan

In this chapter I examine tenth-century inscriptions recovered from southern Canaan. I focus especially on the Tel Zayit abecedar<sup>881</sup> and the Gezer Calendar (*KAI* 182; Gibson I:1)<sup>882</sup> (Fig. 29), but also reference various other small inscribed fragments.<sup>883</sup> All of these inscriptions appear to be

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<sup>881</sup> The Tel Zayit abecedar was recovered in 2005 during the excavations of Tel Zayit led by R. E. Tappy. It was found in Tel Zayit Local Level III, which the excavators date to the tenth century BCE. See especially, R. E. Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter Jr., M. J. Lundberg, and B. Zuckerman, "An Abecedar of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judean Shephelah," *BASOR* 344 (2006): 5-46; R. E. Tappy and P. Kyle McCarter Jr., eds., *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedar in Context* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008); S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 17-18.

<sup>882</sup> The Gezer calendar was discovered in archaeological debris from the site of Gezer. For a summary of its discovery see especially W. F. Albright, "The Gezer Calendar," *BASOR* 92 [1943]: 16; Tappy et al., "An Abecedar of the Mid-Tenth Century," 28 n.44; C. A. Rollston, "The Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar and Putative Evidence for Israelite Literacy," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedar in Context* (R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 80. See also J. Renz, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), Vol. I: 30-37; Vol. III: Pl. I.1; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 2005), *Gez* 1, pages 155-65; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 252-57.

It was first dated palaeographically to the tenth century based on comparison with the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos (Albright, "Gezer Calendar," 16-26; idem, "Palestinian Inscriptions," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [J. B. Pritchard, ed.; Princeton: Princeton University, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1950; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1955; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1969], 320; F. M. Cross, "Early Alphabetic Scripts," in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventh-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research [1900-1975]: Archaeology and Early Israelite History* [F. M. Cross, ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: ASOR, 1979], 108 and note 48 = *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*. Harvard Semitic Studies 51 [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 339-40 and note 51; idem, "An Archaic Inscribed Seal from the Valley of Ajalon [Soreq]," 1962, 12-13 = *Leaves*, 300). The close affinity of its script with the recently discovered Tel Zayit inscriptions confirms this date.

<sup>883</sup> Several inscribed fragments have also been recovered in southern Canaan from tenth-century contexts. These include fragments from: **Tel 'Amal** (S. Levy and G. Edelstein, "Cinq années de fouilles a Tel 'Amal," *RB* 79 [1972]: 325-67, Pl. 25.4; A. Lemaire, "A propos d'une inscription de Tel 'Amal," *RB* 80 [1973]: 559; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 29-30; III: Pl. I:3; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, *Amal* 1, page 3); **Arad (81)** (Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981], 101. For the archaeological context of these inscriptions see the discussion of the Arad ostraca in the following chapter on the Hebrew script. See also: Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 47-47; III: Pl. II:5; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, *Arad* 81, page 97); **Tel Rehov (1-5)** (A. Mazar, "Three 10<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> Century B.C.E. Inscriptions from Tēl Rehōv," in *Saxa loquentur: Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels – Festschrift für Volkmar Fritz*. AOAT 302 [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003], 172-74; A. Mazar and S. Ahituv, "Inscriptions from Tel Rehov and Their Contribution to the Study of Writing and Literacy during the Iron Age IIA," *Erlsr* 30 (2011): 300\*-16\* (in Hebrew); idem, "Inscriptions from Tel Rehov and Their Contribution to the Study of Writing and Literacy during the Iron Age IIA," in "See, I Will Bring a Scroll Recounting What Befell Me" (*Ps* 40:8): *Epigraphy and Daily Life – From the Bible to the Talmud Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Hanan Eshel*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements (E. Eshel and Y. Levin, eds.; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming); **Horvat Rosh Zayit** (Z. Gal and Y. Alexandre, *Horbat Rosh Zayit: An Iron Age Storage Fort and Village* [Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2000], 133-34; Z. Gal, "The Iron Age 'Low Chronology' in Light of the Excavations at Horvat Rosh Zayit," *IEJ* 53 [2003]: 147-50; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 37-39; III: Pl. I:2).

Other inscribed fragments from southern Canaan have also been associated with the tenth-century; however, I have not included them in the palaeographic discussion below, because their archaeological contexts are less secure. These include: A fragment from **Beth-Shemesh**. Palaeographically this inscription may be dated to the eleventh-tenth centuries (S. Bunimovitz and Z. Lederman, "Six Seasons of Excavations at Beth Shemesh," *Qadmoniot* 30 [1997]: 29-30). Three inscribed jars from **Eshtemoa**. The ceramic parallels for these jars derive from the late tenth-eighth centuries. Palaeographically, they may be dated to the tenth century (Z. Yeivin, "The Mysterious Silver Hoard from Eshtemoa," *BAR* 13/6 [1987]: 38-44; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 65-66; III: Pl. IV.2; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, *Esh* 1-3, pages 153-54). A fragment from **Tell el-Hamme**. This piece was recovered from surface survey. Palaeographically, this inscription

written in the same script tradition; however, scholars differ regarding the identification of this particular script. Some have identified it as Phoenician,<sup>884</sup> some as Hebrew,<sup>885</sup> and some as south Canaanite.<sup>886</sup> Because this debate has implications for the origins of the Hebrew script, I have chosen

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may be dated to the tenth century (P. Bar-Adon et al., *Judaea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967-1968* [Jerusalem: Carta, 1972], 214; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 47; III: Pl. II.6; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, Ham 1, page 181). A fragment from **Tell el-Fara' (South)**. The find context of this inscription is the Iron I-II transition period. Also, this site is located on the Philistine periphery, and thus it is difficult to assign the inscription to a particular script tradition (G. Lehmann and T. J. Schneider, "A New Ostrakon from Tell el-Far'ah [South]," *NEA* 63 [2000]: 113; P. K. McCarter in Tappy et al., "An Abecedar of the Mid-Tenth Century," 28 n. 47). I have also not included the ostrakon from **Tel Batash**, though it comes from a secure tenth-century context, like the Tell el-Far'ah (south) fragment, it comes from the area of Philistia and might be difficult to assign to a particular script tradition in this period (A. Mazar and N. Panitz-Cohen, *Timnah [Tel Batash] II: The Finds from the First Millennium*. Qedem 42 [Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University, 1997], 14-15, Pl. 6; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 30; III: Pl. I.4; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, Bat 1, pages 113-14; cf. A. Lemaire, "Phénicien et Philistien: paléographie et dialectologie," in *Actas del IV congreso internacional de estudios fenicio y púnicos*, Cádiz, 2 al 6 de octubre de 1995 [M. E. Aubet and M. Barthélemy, eds.; Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz, 2000], 246-46). Note also an inscribed bowl from **Kefar Veradim**. This bowl was found in a tenth-century tomb context; however, it may be best identified as an heirloom object, as it is inscribed in eleventh-century Phoenician script (Y. Alexandre, "A Fluted Bronze Bowl with a Canaanite-Early Phoenician Inscription from Kefar Veradim," in *Eretz Zafon – Studies in Galilean Archaeology*, Haifa [Z. Gal, ed.; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2002], \*65-\*74; Rollston, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar," 78-79). I have also not included the ostraca written in Old Canaanite script from Khirbet Qeiyafa (Y. Garfinkel and S. Ganor, *Khirbet Qeiyafa Vol. 1: Excavation Report 2007-2008* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2009], 243-70), from the Ophel in Jerusalem (E. Mazar, D. Ben-Schlomo, and S. Ahituv, "An Inscribed Pithos from the Ophel, Jerusalem," *IEJ* 33 [2013]: 39-49), or from Philistine Tell es-Safi (A. M. Maeir et al., "A Late Iron Age I/Early Iron II Old Canaanite Inscription from Tell es-Şāfi/Gath, Israel: Palaeography, Dating, and Historical-Cultural Significance," *BASOR* 351 [2008]: 39-71).

<sup>884</sup> Z. Harris, *Development of the Canaanite Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History*. AOS 16 (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1939, 24); J. Naveh, "A Palaeographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script," *HTR* 61 (1968): 69 = *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University Magnes Press, 2009), 11; idem, "The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan in the Iron Age," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* (J. H. Sanders, ed.; Garden City, N.J., 1970), 277 = *Studies*, 3; idem, "Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from 'Izbet Şarṭah," *IEJ* 28 (1978): 33; idem, "Inscriptions of the Biblical Period," in *Recent Archaeology in the Land of Israel* (H. Shanks and B. Mazar, eds.; Washington D. C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1984), 61; idem, "Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek, and the Script of the Tell Fakhariyah Statue," in *Ancient Israelite Religion* (1987), 105 = *Studies*, 96; idem, *Early History of the Alphabet* (2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1987; repr., 1997), 65, 76; G. Garbini, "Note epigrafiche, vol. 3: Le iscrizioni 'protocanaaniche' del XII e XI secolo a.C.," *AION* 34 (1974): 589; Renz, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*, I: 31-32; idem, *Schrift und Schreibtradition: Eine paläographische Studie zum kulturgeschichtlichen Verhältnis von israelitischem Nordreich und Südreich*. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins 23. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997: 5; Rollston, "Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar," 80-83, 89.

<sup>885</sup> Birnbaum refers to the Gezer script as "Paleo-Hebrew" (*The Hebrew Scripts* [Leiden: Brill, 1971], Part 1.33). Gibson calls it "Old Hebrew" (I:1, page 9). F. M. Cross refers to the script of the Gezer calendar as "early Hebrew" and says "the first rudimentary innovations that will mark the emergent Hebrew script can be perceived in the Gezer Calendar, but they are faint at best" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 [1969]: 14 = *Leaves*, 95; cf. "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts," *BASOR* 238 [1980]: 14 = *Leaves*, 226). He also believes it is written in a Hebrew dialect ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyah Bilingual Inscription," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphical, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* [Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 396 = *Leaves*, 52).

<sup>886</sup> McCarter refers to both the script and dialect of the Gezer calendar as "inland South Canaanite" ("The Gezer Calendar (2.85)," *COS* 2, 222). He also states, "Although the Tel Zayit script displays substantial conformity with coastal Phoenician, it also exhibits numerous indications of independent continuity with the antecedent scripts of the Old Canaanite epigraphs of its own region. . . Finally, and palaeographically most significant, the Tel Zayit script inaugurates general and specific graphic innovations that will become standard features of its regional descendant in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and later – namely, the Hebrew script. For these reasons, I have preferred to eschew the term *Phoenician* as descriptive of the Tel Zayit

to treat the script of these inscriptions in its own brief chapter and to situate this chapter just before my full discussion of early Hebrew script development.

Efforts at classifying the script of these inscriptions are complicated by the fact that it is also difficult to identify their language(s). There are no lexical, orthographical, or grammatical markers<sup>887</sup> in an abecedary such as Tel Zayit. The Gezer calendar, though longer and containing clear lexemes and syntactical constructions, has offered no less of a challenge in language identification.<sup>888</sup> Additionally, the fragmentary inscriptions bear only a few letters. In the analysis that follows, in an effort to ascertain the script tradition to which these inscriptions belong, I compare them with the other contemporary inscriptions written in a linear alphabetic Northwest Semitic script—the royal Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos (Fig. 2).<sup>889</sup>

### A Palaeographic Analysis: The Letter Forms

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script in favor of the more neutral and geographically precise *south Canaanite*. From a historical perspective, the designation *Proto-Hebrew* is entirely accurate and proper in view of the fact that the sole heir to the Tel Zayit script will be the Hebrew national script, with its own daughter scripts, Moabite, Edomite, and Philistine” (“Paleographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedary in Context* [R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 49, cf. 48-50, 53-55; “An Abecedary,” 26-27, 31). He goes on to state that this “is not to suggest that these two 10<sup>th</sup>-century inscriptions (Tel Zayit abecedary, Gezer calendar) should be classified as Hebrew script, a classification that in my view would be a mistake (see the cautious remarks of Cross 1980: 14 [= Cross 2003: 226]). The diagnostic features of the Hebrew script appear unambiguously only in the 9<sup>th</sup> or even 8<sup>th</sup> century (Naveh 1982: 65-66)” (“Palaeographic Notes,” 53).

P. Bordreuil prefers the designation “Canaanite” (“Sceaux inscrits des pays du Levant. Cols. 86–212,” in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible*. Vol. 12, Fasc. 66 [Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1992], 144).

Lemaire classifies the script of Gezer as “local” and prefers to associate the inscription with Philista, whom he says adopted the Late Bronze Canaanite alphabet. Still, he says it is practically impossible to distinguish the scripts of Phoenician, Paleo-Hebrew, and Philistine in the tenth century (“Phénicien et Philistien,” 247-48).

Following Lemaire, I. Finkelstein, B. Sass, and L. Singer-Avitz say the script of the Gezer calendar, and also the Tel Zayit abecedary, has a “largely Phoenicianizing character” but understand it as “local or Philistian” (“Writing in Iron IIA Philistia in the Light of the Tel Zayit/Zeta Abecedary,” *ZDPV* 124 [2008]: 1–14, especially 8). Note also that they downdate the stratum in which the Tel Zayit abecedary was found to the ninth century and also assign the inscription a late ninth-century date.

<sup>887</sup> The fact that the Tel Zayit abecedary preserves a 22-letter alphabet is phonologically suggestive.

<sup>888</sup> For a history of this discussion see D. Pardee, “A Brief Case for Phoenician as the Language of the ‘Gezer Calendar,’” *Linguistic Studies in Phoenician* (R. D. Holmstedt and A. Schade, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns): 226-46; cf. idem, review of J. C. L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* III: Phoenician Inscriptions including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialects of Arslan Tash, *JNES* 46 (1987): 139 n.20. Pardee argues convincingly that the language of the inscription is Phoenician.

<sup>889</sup> These inscriptions were discussed at length in the previous chapter on Phoenician script.

*'alep* – *'Alep* stands upright in both the Tel Zayit abecedary and in the Gezer calendar, though the nose of the Tel Zayit *'alep* angles downward. The head of *'alep* is formed by two oblique lines that meet in a sharply pointed, v-shaped nose on the left side. This head is pierced by a vertical shaft that is somewhat elongated, extending further below the bottom oblique head-stroke than above the top. *'Alep* also appears in a fragment from Tel Rehov (Tel Rehov 1); its vertical shaft is short in this inscription.

The form of *'alep* described above is quite like *'alep* in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, though it differs slightly in two ways. First, in the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos, *'alep*'s head is touched by the vertical shaft at its extreme left end, but, as discussed in the previous chapter on Phoenician script, this placement of the vertical shaft is unique and short-lived in the Phoenician tradition, and associated particularly with Byblos, and thus cannot be used a distinctive marker of Phoenician script over against another script tradition. Second, the vertical shaft of *'alep* in both the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions is markedly longer than the vertical shaft of *'alep* in tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. As this phenomenon of stem elongation is present in several other letters, I will discuss this particular issue in the conclusion of this palaeographic analysis.

*bet* – *Bet* is made up of a spine on the right connected to a sharp (Gezer calendar) or blunted (Tel Zayit) triangular head and a foot on the left. In the Gezer calendar, the foot of *bet* is quite distinct, coming sharply across from the vertical spine. In the Tel Zayit abecedary, this distinction is softened, as *bet*'s spine curves at the end, rounding nicely into a foot. *Bet* stands upright in both inscriptions, and there is nothing to distinguish it from the *bet* of contemporary Phoenician inscriptions.<sup>890</sup>

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<sup>890</sup> McCarter states that the “broadly rounded head” of the Tel Zayit *bet* stands in contrast to the “tightly rounded or sharp-nosed triangular heads” of the Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, but he says that round and sharp forms “alternate throughout the history of the (Hebrew) script” (“Paleographic Notes,” 50-52; idem, “An Abecedary,” 32-33). Indeed, as I argued in the chapter on Phoenician script, the shape of the head of Phoenician *bet* may vary; its nose may be either sharply pointed or more blunted or round. Furthermore, its head size may also vary. Neither of these variations are typologically significant for *bet* in the tenth-early seventh centuries. Cf. the discussion of round/pointed heads in the Methodology chapter.

***gimel*** – *Gimel* is found only in the Tel Zayit abecedar. It stands upright and is made of two strokes, a short right oblique stroke and a longer vertical shaft. It resembles contemporary Phoenician Byblian *gimels*.<sup>891</sup>

***dalet*** – Like contemporary Phoenician *dalet*,<sup>892</sup> *dalet* in the Tel Zayit<sup>893</sup> and Gezer inscriptions stands upright<sup>894</sup> and is roughly the shape of a triangle. It is shorter than most other letters. It has no stem, a feature that *dalet* eventually develops in all of the major script traditions.

***he*** – *He* is found only in the Tel Zayit abecedar. It is composed of a vertical spine on the right, which extends well below three shorter, parallel bars on the left. It exhibits slight counterclockwise rotation. This *he* differs from tenth-century Phoenician Byblian *he*,<sup>895</sup> whose vertical shaft is shorter and extends not only below its parallel bars but slightly above. As with *'alep*, I will discuss the phenomenon of stem elongation in the conclusion below.

***waw*** – Like *waw* in the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, *waw* in the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions stands upright and has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head. Additionally, however, in the Gezer calendar, an advanced form of *waw* appears, wherein the letter has begun to rotate slightly clockwise, and its head has begun to break down, resembling an upside-down h. Similarly, the Shipitba'al inscription from Phoenician Byblos contains both types of *waw*.<sup>896</sup>

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<sup>891</sup> McCarter states that “The headstroke of Tel Zayit *gimel* is drawn at something close to a right angle from the stem . . . (and) is distinct from the acute-angled headstroke of the *gimel* of the 'Ahiiram inscription and the rest of the 10<sup>th</sup>-century Byblian series” (“Paleographic Notes,” 51; “An Abecedar,” 33). I see this distinct difference when comparing the Tel Zayit *gimel* to the 'Ahiiram *gimel*. Though, when comparing the Tel Zayit *gimel* to *gimel* in the Byblian Yehimilk inscription, though the Yehimilk *gimel* is rotated in a counterclockwise direction, the angle of its head and that of the Tel Zayit *gimel*'s seems quite similar.

<sup>892</sup> The one exception to this is the cursive 'Abda sherd, which exhibits a short stem.

<sup>893</sup> The Tel Zayit *dalet*'s rather long form is idiosyncratic.

<sup>894</sup> If the Gezer *dalet* exhibits counterclockwise rotation, as suggested by B. Haines (“A Paleographical Study of Aramaic Inscriptions Antedating 500 B.C.” [Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966], 99), it does so only very slightly.

<sup>895</sup> Note that there are few examples of tenth-century Byblian *he* with which to compare.

<sup>896</sup> Cf. the discussion of dual forms in the Methodology chapter.

Cross (“Newly Found Inscriptions,” 14 = *Leaves*, 226) and McCarter (“An Abecedar,” 30, 33; “Paleographic Notes,” 56) have argued that *waw* in the inscriptions from south Canaan exhibits elongation in comparison to contemporary Phoenician inscriptions. Upon comparison, I, myself, see no appreciable differences, except maybe in the upside-down-h form of *waw* in the Gezer calendar.

*zayin* – *Zayin* stands upright in the Tel Zayit abecedar and is rotated counterclockwise in the Gezer calendar. It is I-shaped, with a vertical stroke that is just slightly shorter than its horizontal strokes. In the Tel Zayit abecedar, *zayin* is shorter than most other letters, while the Gezer calendar *zayin* is rather tall. This mirrors tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions, where both tall and short examples of *zayin* are found.<sup>897</sup>

*het* – As in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, in both the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions, *het* is ladder-shaped, with two vertical shafts on the left and right. In between these shafts lie three shorter, parallel bars. These bars are horizontal or angled downward to the left. *Het*'s vertical shafts might extend above and/or below its parallel bars on one or both sides. A fragment from Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit has a four-barred *het*.<sup>898</sup>

*tet* – *Tet* is found only in the Tel Zayit abecedar. Like the Phoenician *tet* ('Ahiham sarcophagus),<sup>899</sup> it has the form of a circle<sup>900</sup> with either an x or a + inside, and is about the size of most other letters.<sup>901</sup>

*yod* – In the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions, *yod* is z-shaped,<sup>902</sup> with an additional stroke midway down its spine on the left. In other words, *yod* is made up of a head stroke, an oblique spine,

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<sup>897</sup> McCarter argues that “Both the Tel Zayit and Gezer forms of *zayin* show a shortening of the vertical stroke in comparison with the tall form of coastal Phoenician *zayin*, as seen in the Byblian series” (“Paleographic Notes,” 53-54; cf. “An Abecedar,” 34-35). However, in the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, while *zayin* may be tall, standing the full height of the line ('Ahiham and Shipitba'al inscriptions), some examples are shorter than other letters (Yehimilk and 'Eliba'al inscriptions). Also, in the Byblian inscriptions, *zayin*'s horizontal strokes and vertical shaft are roughly the same length (except in the tall 'Ahiham *zayin*).

<sup>898</sup> There is one four-barred *het* in the eleventh-century Phoenician 'Azarba'al spatula from Byblos (*KAI* 3; Gibson III:1; P. K. McCarter and R. B. Coote, “The Spatula Inscription from Byblos,” *BASOR* 212 [1973]: 16-22).

<sup>899</sup> *Tet* is also present in the Shipitba'al inscription from Byblos. In this inscription it is *theta*-shaped. A form seen rarely in the Phoenician, Hebrew, and Aramaic inscriptions throughout the early Iron Age, but, as discussed in the previous chapter, the form that becomes dominant in the Aramaic script from the seventh-century on.

<sup>900</sup> The circle is roughly shaped. It was likely difficult to carve a perfect circle in the hard stone of this bowl. Cf. the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>901</sup> McCarter states that *tet* is smaller in the 'Ahiham sarcophagus than in the Tel Zayit abecedar (“An Abecedar,” 35). To my eye the forms are of similar size.

<sup>902</sup> McCarter argues that *yod* is z-shaped in comparison with the rounded *yod* at Byblos (“An Abecedar,” 35; “Paleographic Notes,” 51-52). This is not typologically significant, for as discussed in both the chapters on Phoenician and Hebrew script in this study, both sharply angled (z-shaped) and rounder (2-shaped) forms alternate in both Phoenician and Hebrew during the ninth century and later. Cf. Rollston, “Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar,” 88.

a foot stroke, and a tongue. It exhibits counterclockwise rotation. Tel Rehov fragment 1 has a 2-shaped *yod*; its stance cannot be determined, as there is no way to know the orientation in which the small sherd should be held. The Phoenician Byblian inscriptions are 2-shaped and stand upright; though, as seen in the ninth-century Honeyman and Nora inscriptions, the Phoenician *yod* may also be z-shaped and rotates in a counterclockwise direction as the script develops.

***kap*** – In the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, *kap* has an upright, trident shape and no tail. *Kap* also exhibits a rather upright stance in the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions; however, it has a clearly formed a long, straight<sup>903</sup> tail, which seems to have developed from a lengthening of its right prong. The first appearance of this tailed form of *kap* in a definitively Phoenician text occurs in the ninth-century Nora stone. As with *'alep* and *he*, I will discuss the phenomenon of stem elongation in the conclusion below.

***lamed*** – In the inscriptions from south Canaan, *lamed* does not penetrate the ceiling line,<sup>904</sup> as in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions. In the Gezer and Tel Zayit inscriptions, *lamed* is hook-shaped. This hook is quite curved in the Tel Zayit abecedar, giving the letter a rather archaic appearance; it is angled in the Gezer calendar. Tel Rehov fragments 3 and 4 and a fragment from Tel 'Amal have angled *lameds*. Tel Rehov fragment 5 has a round *lamed*. The contemporary Phoenician Byblian inscriptions have both round and angled *lameds*.

***mem*** – In both the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions, *mem* has a five-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom stroke is longer than its upper four strokes. The Gezer *mem* exhibits slight counterclockwise rotation, and the stance of *mem* is difficult to determine in the Tel Zayit abecedar, as the scribal ceiling line shifts dramatically throughout the inscription because it is inscribed on a

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<sup>903</sup> There is no curl or bend at the end of this tail, a feature that distinguishes *kap* in the Hebrew script. (So also, McCarter, "An Abecedar," 35).

<sup>904</sup> Though the upper part of *lamed* is quite long in Tel Rehov 5, this inscription was incised on the side of a jar and has no precise ceiling line.

round bowl.<sup>905</sup> *Mem* in Tel Rehov fragment 2 looks very archaic. It stands completely upright, and has a unique eight-stroke zigzag form. Its final stroke is no longer than any of its others. The Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit *mem* has an elongated bottom stroke and exhibits counterclockwise rotation. Tel Rehov fragment 4 and the Tell ‘Amal fragment have *mems* with elongated bottom strokes that exhibit clockwise rotation.

*Mem* also has a five-stroke, zigzag form in the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, and its bottom stroke has begun to elongate slightly beyond the length of its upper four strokes, most notably in the Shipitba‘al inscription.<sup>906</sup> It stands upright, except for one example in the Shipitba‘al inscription that exhibits slight counterclockwise rotation.

**nun** – *Nun* in the Tel Zayit abecedar<sup>907</sup> has a three-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom tail stroke extends down, somewhat longer than its upper two strokes. As with *mem* in this inscription, its stance is difficult to determine. *Nun* has an elongated bottom stroke and stands upright in Tel Rehov fragment 4 and in the fragment from Ḥorvat Rosh Zayit. *Nun* also has an elongated bottom stroke in Tel Rehov fragment 5 and in the Tel ‘Amal fragment. In these pieces it exhibits clockwise rotation. *Nun* also has a three-stroke, zigzag form with an elongated bottom stroke in the contemporary Phoenician inscriptions. In this corpus *nun* typically stands upright, though a few examples might incline in a counterclockwise direction and some in a clockwise direction.<sup>908</sup>

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<sup>905</sup> This was pointed out to me by P. K. McCarter (personal communication). He states that when this stance issue is taken into consideration, the Tel Zayit *mem* looks very much like the Gezer *mem* and also somewhat like the Shipitba‘al *mem*. (With regard to the issue of letter stance on types of epigraphic media such as round bowls, see the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter.)

<sup>906</sup> In their discussions of the Gezer Calendar and/or the Tel Zayit abecedar, Cross (“Newly Found Inscriptions,” 14 = *Leaves*, 226; “Newly Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads of the 11th Century BCE.,” *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology* [A. Biran and J. Aviram, eds.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1993], 540 n.5 = *Leaves* 208 n.5) and McCarter (“An Abecedar,” 30, 36-37; “Paleographic Notes,” 54, 56, 56 n.12) do not note the elongation of *mem*’s bottom stroke in the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions.

<sup>907</sup> There is no *nun* in the Gezer calendar.

<sup>908</sup> In both Cross’s 1993 discussion of the Tel Batash fragment (“Newly Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads,” 540 n.5 = *Leaves*, 208 n. 5) and McCarter’s discussion of the Tel Zayit abecedar (“An Abecedar,” 30, 37; “Paleographic Notes,” 53, 56), neither scholar notes the elongation of the bottom stroke of *nun* in the tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. However, in 1995, Cross states, “In fact this lengthening (of the lower leg of *nun*) is found in tenth-century Phoenician and Hebrew” (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fāḥariyeh Bilingual,” 406 = *Leaves*, 58).



**samek** – The Tel Zayit and Gezer *sameks* are formed with a tall vertical shaft, crossed at the top by three shorter, parallel, horizontal bars.<sup>909</sup> The vertical shaft pierces the top horizontal bar. *Samek* stands upright in the Gezer calendar but, in the Tel Zayit abecedary, its stance is difficult to determine, as with *mem* and *nun*. In the contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, *samek* is found only in the 'Ahiiram sarcophagus. There it stands upright and its form mirrors that in the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions.

**'ayin** – In the Gezer and Tel Zayit inscriptions, *'ayin* has a round, circular shape and is smaller than most other letters. This form of *'ayin* is also found in Tel Rehov 1, though it is the same size as *yod*, the only other letter in this fragment. *'Ayin* also has a round, circular shape in the contemporary Phoenician inscriptions and is the size of or slightly smaller than most other letters.

**pe** – In the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions, as in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, *pe* is almost an inverted image of *lamed*. It stands upright, and its short fore-stroke curves downward into a longer diagonal tail.<sup>910</sup>

**šade** – *Šade* stands upright. It is composed of a “z” that is attached by its top stroke to a vertical (Gezer calendar) or oblique (Tel Zayit abecedary) shaft on the left. This shaft is quite short, it

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Furthermore, McCarter also states that “The tightly coiled head of the Tel Zayit *nun* is another striking archaism . . . It has no parallel in the *nun* of the contemporary coastal Phoenician as represented by the Byblian series” (“Paleographic Notes,” 53; cf. “An Abecedary,” 37). I would argue that the head of *nun* in the Phoenician 'Eliba'al inscription is as “tightly coiled” as that of the Tel Zayit *nun*.

<sup>909</sup> Cross (“New Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads,” 540 n.5 = 2003: 208 n. 5) and McCarter (“Paleographic Notes,” 56 n.12) argue that *samek* in the Gezer calendar exhibits elongation in comparison with tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. I see no appreciable difference in the height of *samek* in these inscriptions. Furthermore, when one compares the length of *samek*'s vertical shaft in the 'Ahiiram sarcophagus with its length in the eleventh-century Phoenician 'Azarba'al spatula, it is clear that *samek*'s shaft has begun to elongate in the Phoenician script by the tenth century (Rollston, “Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” 74, 79; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 21).

<sup>910</sup> The *pes* of both the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions have strikingly long tails; however, this extreme elongation should not be assigned undue significance, as (1) the tail of *pe* in these inscriptions is even longer than the tails of *pe* in the subsequent ninth-century inscriptions in both the Hebrew and Phoenician script traditions; and (2) the tail of *pe* in the Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, though not exceedingly long, does show development in this series. Whereas the 'Ahiiram sarcophagus *pe* is C-shaped and rather symmetrical, *pe* has lost this symmetrical shape in the other Byblian inscriptions—its tail stroke has lengthened, while its fore-stroke has remained short. (Contra Cross [“New Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads,” 540 n.5 = *Leaves*, 208 n. 5] and McCarter [“Paleographic Notes,” 56 n.12], who argue that the elongation of *pe* in the Gezer calendar is significant in comparison with *pe* in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions).

extends above the top stroke of the “z,” but not below its bottom stroke. It resembles *ṣade* in the contemporary Phoenician Byblian inscriptions.

**qop** – In both the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions,<sup>911</sup> *qop* stands upright. It is composed of a two-chambered head that is divided evenly by a vertical stroke. The head is not perfectly round; it is tapered just a bit at the bottom.<sup>912</sup> This form of *qop* is not too unlike *qop* in the contemporary Phoenician Yehimilk inscription,<sup>913</sup> though there, *qop*’s head seems rounder. Still, as mentioned in the Phoenician script chapter, the Yehimilk inscription has suffered from erosion, and the exact execution of *qop*’s head shape is somewhat difficult to ascertain. When comparing the Tel Zayit and Gezer *qops* to *qop* in the Yehimilk inscription, I see nothing that suggests the presence of separate script traditions.

**resh** – As in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, the *resh* of the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions stands upright. It is composed of a vertical spine on the right,<sup>914</sup> with a sharp triangular head on the left. It is easily distinguished from *dalet*, as *dalet* has no vertical stem.

**shin** – In the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions, *shin* stands upright and is w-shaped. It is made up of four strokes of equal length.<sup>915</sup> Though about the size of most other letters in the Tel Zayit abecedar, it is smaller than most letters in the Gezer calendar.<sup>916</sup> Tel Rehov 5 has a small *shin*,

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<sup>911</sup> Cross (“New Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads,” 540 n.5 = *Leaves*, 208 n. 5) and McCarter (“Paleographic Notes,” 56 n.12) argue that *qop* in the Gezer calendar exhibits elongation in comparison with tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. I see no appreciable difference in the height of *qop* in these inscriptions.

<sup>912</sup> It looks somewhat like one of the forms of *qop* in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions. (I discuss these inscriptions at length in the previous chapter on Phoenician script.)

<sup>913</sup> The only other Phoenician Byblian inscription that has a *qop* is Shipitba’al. In this inscription *qop*’s vertical stem does not pierce its head.

<sup>914</sup> Cross (“Newly Found Inscriptions,” 14 = “*Leaves*,” 226; “New Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads,” 540 n.5 = *Leaves*, 208 n. 5) and McCarter (“An Abecedar,” 30, 40; “Paleographic Notes,” 56, 56 n.12) argue that *resh* in the Gezer calendar (and McCarter says “very tentatively” in the Tel Zayit abecedar) exhibits elongation in comparison with tenth-century Phoenician inscriptions. I see no appreciable difference in the height of *resh* in any of these inscriptions.

<sup>915</sup> *Shin* is rather crudely executed in the Tel Zayit abecedar and in the Tel ‘Amal fragment.

<sup>916</sup> McCarter states, “The *šin* of the Gezer Calendar and especially the Tel Zayit Abecedar is large in comparison to that of contemporary coastal Phoenician” (“Paleographic Notes,” 53) and also references the large *shins* from Tel ‘Amal (“An Abecedar,” 50). While the Tel Zayit and Tel ‘Amal *shins* are large, the Tel ‘Amal *shin* is quite crudely executed and not the best example for determining the correct palaeographic form of a letter. There are three *shins* in the Gezer calendar.

while the (crudely executed) *shin* in the Tel ‘Amal fragment is large. *Shin* is also found in Arad ostrakon 81, though its size relative to other letters cannot be determined, as it is the only letter in this ostrakon. In the Phoenician Byblian inscriptions, *shin* also stands upright and has a four-stroke w-shape. It is smaller than most other letters.

*taw* – *Taw* in the Tel Zayit and Gezer inscriptions is x-shaped, having two strokes of equal length. It is smaller than most other letters. Tel Rehov 2 also has an x-shaped *taw*, though it is quite large. The contemporary Phoenician *taw* is like the Tel Zayit and Gezer forms.<sup>917</sup>

## Conclusion

Based on the analysis above, I believe that the script of tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan parallels the script of the contemporary Phoenician inscriptions from Byblos. Indeed, the only distinction between the scripts of these two corpora is the elongation of stems in the letters *’alep*, *he*, and *kap* in the southern Canaanite corpus. Still, this elongation in particular has caused various scholars to argue that by the tenth century, the Canaanite script has divided into two distinct traditions, one in the south and one in the north (Phoenician).<sup>918</sup> However, I am not comfortable

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While one is larger, two are quite small. Thus, it seems that in the south of Canaan, just as in Phoenician, *shin* decreased in size during the tenth century.

<sup>917</sup> Except in the Shipitba‘al inscription (late tenth-early ninth century), where one of *taw*’s strokes has just begun to elongate. As discussed in the previous chapter on Phoenician script, this is a subsequent development in that script tradition.

<sup>918</sup> Cross states, “I believe that the first rudimentary innovations that will mark the emergent Hebrew script can be perceived in the Gezer Calendar, but they are faint at best. These rudimentary features include the elongation of the vertical strokes or legs of such letters as *’alep*, *waw*, *kap*, *mem*, and *reš*” (“Newly Found Inscriptions,” 14 = *Leaves*, 226; so also “New Discovered Inscribed Arrowheads,” 540 n.5 = *Leaves*, 208 n. 5).

Cf. Gibson, who refers to the script of the Gezer calendar as “Old Hebrew.” He says, “Many of the characters find their closest parallels in the Old Byblian inscriptions; cf. *dalet*, *waw*, *het*, *samek*, *šade*, *qop* and especially *mem*. The *kap*, on the other hand, already possesses the distinctive later Hebrew outline” (I:1, page 9).

Similarly, on the basis of stem elongation (and other criteria, which I have addressed above), McCarter argues that the script of the tenth-century inscriptions from southern Canaan shows traces of the development of a distinct script tradition, which he calls “south Canaanite.” He states, “Finally, we note the tendency in the early Northwest Semitic scripts and those derived from them (such as Greek) toward elongation of the vertical body strokes and, where they exist, the stems. This issue is of general relevance to the question of the relationship of the 10<sup>th</sup>-century script of Tel Zayit and Gezer to the Hebrew script of the 9<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries and later, because not one but several graphemes are affected. This phenomenon (stem elongation) has special palaeographic significance for comparison of the developing Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew traditions. Early Linear Phoenician with its lapidary successor shows most resistance to the tendency by remaining symmetrical and compact throughout the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. In the 9<sup>th</sup> century, short stems begin to appear on certain Phoenician forms, such as *dalet*, *he* (already in the 10<sup>th</sup>), *mem*, and *šade*, but the elongation of these stems, as of other

positing such a divergence on the basis of stem elongation in only three letters,<sup>919</sup> especially as the tenth-century Phoenician Byblian inscriptions also exhibit the elongation of *mem*, *nun*, and *samek* seen in the inscriptions from southern Canaan.<sup>920</sup> Furthermore, as will be demonstrated in the following chapter, comparison of the ninth-century inscriptions written in the Phoenician<sup>921</sup> and Hebrew script traditions shows that the stems of Phoenician *'alep*, *he*, and *kap* have lengthened comparably to the stems of those letters as written in the Hebrew script tradition. In the Hebrew inscriptions those letter stems are not longer than the same letter stems in the Phoenician inscriptions—a distinction that, if present, might indicate that letter stems in south Canaan had been lengthening for a substantial period of time before the Phoenician letters began to do so.

### The Importance of this Discussion for the Genesis of the Hebrew Script

Because some have argued that the script of the tenth-century inscriptions from southern Canaan is Hebrew, and that these inscriptions represent the first examples of this particular script tradition, it is important to treat this material in any study of the genesis of the Hebrew script. Two major questions in the discussion of the birth of this particular writing tradition are: (1) when does this script emerge? and (2) out of what earlier script tradition does it arise?

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vertical features of the Phoenician script, does not make its appearance until the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries and later. In striking contrast to the situation in Phoenician is the early elongation of the letter forms of the scripts of the Syrian and Canaanite heartland” (“Paleographic Notes,” 54-55). Cf. also the discussion of stem elongation in the previous Aramaic script chapter.

<sup>919</sup> With regard to stem elongation, Rollston says, “I do not consider elongation to be a distinctive marker of a particular script series. My reason for this view is as follows: *the Phoenician, Aramaic, and Old Hebrew script series all reflect elongation*” (“Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” 83; idem, *Writing and Literacy*, 33). “Ultimately, (1) the suggestion that elongation is a marker of a non-Phoenician script is not, in my opinion, sustainable. Rather, elongation is something that is well attested in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries. Of course, the fact that elongation is the norm for all three major script series (Phoenician, Aramaic, and Old Hebrew) from the 9<sup>th</sup> century through the 6<sup>th</sup> century must also be factored in as evidence demonstrating that elongation is not a feature that can be considered unique to Phoenician, Hebrew, or Aramaic” (“Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedary,” 89).

<sup>920</sup> And also *dalet* in the cursive ‘Abda sherd.

<sup>921</sup> Especially the Kilamuwa stele. (This inscription was discussed at length in both the Phoenician and Aramaic chapters.)

Some, such as J. Naveh<sup>922</sup> and C. A. Rollston,<sup>923</sup> believe that Phoenicia influenced the alphabetic script tradition of all of the Levant throughout the tenth century and that it was only in the ninth century that a distinct Hebrew script emerged from it. F. M. Cross suggests that Israel shared the Canaanite script of the Late Bronze Age,<sup>924</sup> “with chancelleries of Phoenicia into the tenth century” and that “the center of radiation for its innovations and style was in all likelihood the chief centers of Phoenician culture and trade.”<sup>925</sup> However, he believes that the incipient features of the Hebrew script emerge in the tenth-century inscriptions from southern Canaan.<sup>926</sup> P. K. McCarter posits that the Canaanite alphabetic script divided into two traditions during the tenth century—coastal Phoenician in the north, which branched off from but continued to influence to some degree,

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<sup>922</sup> Naveh states, “the Hebrews, who adopted the Phoenician (or Canaanite) script together with other Canaanite cultural values sometime in the 12th or 11th century B.C., for some 200 years followed the scribal tradition current in Canaan and only later developed their own national script” (“A Palaeographic Note,” 69 = *Studies*, 11; “The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan,” 277 = *Studies*, 3; “Some Semitic Epigraphical Considerations on the Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet,” *AJA* 77 [1973]: 3 = *Studies*, 83-84; *Early History*, 65).

<sup>923</sup> Rollston says, “the evidence suggests that during the 10<sup>th</sup> century the ancient Israelites continued to use the prestige Phoenician script, just as did much of the rest of the Levant” (“Phoenician Script of the Tel Zayit Abecedar,” 89).

<sup>924</sup> Note that Lemaire has also stated that the Israelites adopted and developed the Canaanite alphabetic script of the Late Bronze Age (“Phénicien et Philistien,” 247).

<sup>925</sup> In 1980, Cross says that Israel “shared the Early Linear Phoenician script with chancelleries of Phoenicia into the tenth century,” however, he makes it clear that “It should be emphasized that this does not mean that the (Hebrew) scribes of the United Monarchy in the late eleventh or early tenth century went to Tyre or another Phoenician center and adopted a new alphabet. The term ‘Early Linear Phoenician’ was arbitrarily devised by the writer as a designation for the alphabet which emerged in the course of the eleventh century, and was used broadly in Syria-Palestine by various national groups, including the Phoenicians, the Aramaeans, and the Israelites. The center of radiation for its innovations and style was in all likelihood the chief centers of Phoenician culture and trade. The chancelleries of the Early Monarchy in Israel may have been influenced directly by Phoenician chancelleries, as they evidently were later by Aramaean chancelleries in the course of the ninth century (in the use of *matres lectiones*). Certainly Phoenician influence is visible in other cultural spheres. However, it is also possible that the Early Linear script was an inheritance from North Israelite scribal circles in close touch with Phoenician centers, and whose dialect had numerous isoglosses with Phoenician” (“Newly Found Inscriptions,” 13-15 = *Leaves*, 226-27; cf. *idem*, “Early Alphabetic Scripts,” 108 n.48 = *Leaves*, 339-40 n.51; cf. “The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet,” *ErIsr* 8 [1967]: 12\*, 23\* = *Leaves*, 321, 328). However, in 1986, he calls Hebrew (and Aramaic) “the daughter scripts of Phoenician” (“Phoenicians in the West: The Early Epigraphic Evidence,” *Studies in Sardinian Archaeology* 2 [1986]: 117 = *Leaves*, 254); and, likewise, in 1989, he states that “The Old Hebrew script diverged from the Phoenician” (“The Invention and Development of the Alphabet,” *The Origins of Writing* [W. M. Senger, ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1989], 86).

<sup>926</sup> As mentioned above, Cross says “the first rudimentary innovations that will mark the emergent Hebrew script can be perceived in the Gezer Calendar, but they are faint at best” (“Epigraphic Notes,” 14 = *Leaves*, 95; cf. “Newly Found Inscriptions,” 13-14 = *Leaves*, 225-26; and especially his critique of M. Kochavi [“An Ostrakon of the Period of the Judges from ‘Izbet Sartah,” *TA* 1 (1977): 13] and A. Demsky, [“A Proto-Canaanite Abecedar Dating from the Period of the Judges and its Implications for the History of the Alphabet,” *TA* 1 (1977): 20-24], who argue that the ‘Izbet Sartah inscriptions represents an early Hebrew script). Cross also states that “The Old Hebrew script diverged from the Phoenician only in the tenth century . . . and its most characteristic features as a national script evolved in the course of the ninth century B. C.” (“Invention and Development of the Alphabet,” 86).

the inland branch of this script employed in southern Canaan.<sup>927</sup> He argues that it is this inland branch of Canaanite script that is present in the tenth-century inscriptions recovered from southern Canaan; and moreover, that the Hebrew script tradition develops from this south Canaanite script during the ninth century.<sup>928</sup>

Based on my examination of the tenth-century inscriptions from both southern and northern Canaan, I believe that the two regions shared a common script tradition in this period. No new script emerged during the tenth century—the Canaanite alphabetic script in use in the south does not differ substantially from the Canaanite script in use in the north. Furthermore, I argue, following Naveh and Rollston, that this script is best termed “Phoenician.”

As McCarter has so rightly stated, “Canaanite and Phoenician are in general synonymous terms.”<sup>929</sup> Therefore, the script of all tenth-century linear alphabetic inscriptions might be properly termed “Canaanite.” However, McCarter goes on to say, Phoenician has

a more specific meaning. The Phoenicians were the segment of the larger Canaanite population of the Levant who had inhabited the northeast Mediterranean littoral from very early times. As the political developments of the Late Bronze Age led to the displacement or serious modification of Canaanite culture elsewhere in Syria and Palestine, Phoenician emerged as the last custodian of the ancient way.<sup>930</sup>

As discussed in my conclusion of the chapter on the Phoenician script, it is the Phoenician scribal apparatus that is most likely responsible for influencing much of the standardization that took place in

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<sup>927</sup> In 2006, McCarter refers to the “south Canaanite” script as “an inland development of the mature Phoenician tradition of the early Iron Age” (“An Abecedary,” 26-27). Likewise, he states that “the originally coastal tradition . . . gave rise to the . . . inland script family” (31), and that this development “was coeval with the continuing use of the main branch of Phoenician in the tenth century B.C.E.” (29). He also refers to Hebrew (and Aramaic) as “a daughter script of Phoenician” (26). However, in 2008, he says “If the influence of Phoenician scribalism on the emergent national scripts of first-millennium Syria-Palestine seems clear, however, it does not follow that the alphabet of the 10th-century Canaanite hinterlands can be explained simply as a daughter script of coastal Phoenician. Rather, the inland and coastal scripts are contemporary descendants of a common original” (“Palaeographic Notes,” 48) and “In the words of Cross (1979: 108 n. 48; 2003: 339-40 n. 51), ‘Earlier Proto-Canaanite was in use in Palestine, and the shift to Linear Phoenician was a matter of following fashion rather than taking up alphabetic writing for the first time.’ Rather than a ‘shift to Linear Phoenician’ in Palestine, I should prefer to speak of a regional script development profoundly influenced by Linear Phoenician” (“Paleographic Notes,” 48 n. 6).

Cf. the comments of L. G. Herr on “the South Palestinian script” (*The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1978], 191; “The Formal Scripts of Iron Age Transjordan,” *BASOR* 238 [1980]: 21-34).

<sup>928</sup> See note 918.

<sup>929</sup> McCarter, *Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, 29; cf. idem, “The Early Diffusion of the Alphabet,” 54, 59-60.

<sup>930</sup> Ibid.

the Canaanite script during the eleventh century and that continued to influence the development of this script throughout the Levant into the tenth-eighth centuries. Thus, I argue that by the (end of the) eleventh century, we may begin to speak of a Phoenician script and to use this term to classify the scripts of those inscriptions which exhibit standardized linear alphabetic writing. Consequently, I argue that it is the Phoenician script that is the direct precursor to Hebrew, and it is out of the Phoenician script tradition that Hebrew emerged. To the Hebrew script, let us now turn.

## CHAPTER 6: Hebrew Script in the Early Iron II Period

In this chapter I establish a palaeographic typology of the Hebrew script in the early Iron II period. When complete, this analysis will suggest the following: (1) A distinct Hebrew script tradition emerged by the ninth-century BCE, a script that can be distinguished from the contemporary Phoenician script that was in use in both southern and northern Canaan, as well as in Aram and in several Mediterranean island sites. (2) During the ninth century, this Hebrew script was used in southern Canaan in the Cisjordan nation-states of Israel and Judah and also in the Transjordanian kingdom of Moab.

In order to form this typology, I compare the earliest inscriptions written in the Hebrew script tradition, the first traces of which can be identified in ninth-century texts,<sup>931</sup> with inscriptions written in the other major contemporary Northwest Semitic script tradition, Phoenician. I then compare these early Hebrew-script inscriptions, with Hebrew texts from the eighth century in order to determine the subsequent trajectory of the nascent Hebrew script tradition, vis-à-vis not only the Phoenician tradition but also in comparison with the Aramaic script, which, as discussed in the previous chapter, emerged as an independent tradition during the eighth century.

Ninth-century epigraphs written in the Hebrew script come from both Cis- and Transjordan, and include inscriptions written not only in the Hebrew language but also in the Moabite language. In fact, the earliest examples of the formal Hebrew script tradition are found in three texts from Moab: the Mesha stele (Moabite stone), the el-Kerak (Kemoshyat) statue fragment, and a fragment from Dibon (Fig. 30). The Mesha stele was inscribed by King Mesha of Moab sometime during the ninth century. Scholars associate the el-Kerak fragment with the father of King Mesha, and both it and the Dibon fragment compare palaeographically to the Mesha stele and should be dated to the ninth

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<sup>931</sup> As I discussed and refuted in the previous chapter on the tenth-century inscriptions from south Canaan, some scholars argue that the Hebrew script first appears in the tenth century. For bibliography, refer to that chapter.



century.<sup>932</sup> We have no formal inscriptions written in the Hebrew language from the ninth century with which to compare these texts from Moab, however, we posit that the script seen in these Moabite inscriptions is Hebrew, because as will be demonstrated below, this script both parallels nicely and also anticipates letter-form developments in the script employed in the ninth-century cursive inscriptions from Cisjordan, as well as in later eighth-century Hebrew inscriptions.<sup>933</sup> There are also

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<sup>932</sup> An inscribed stone pedestal was recently found at the Moabite site of Ataruz, recovered from a ninth-century stratum. In its inscribed state, the pedestal seems to have been reused for accounting purposes and not to have been intended for public display. It is crudely executed in a cursive hand and provides a rare example of a cursive script on stone. The published photographs do not allow for palaeographic analysis, and I have not yet been able to collate them personally. Therefore, I refrain from offering a palaeographic assessment of this piece and from discussing it in this chapter. See C. A. Rollston, forthcoming.

<sup>933</sup> The strongest proponent of this thesis is J. Naveh ("The Scripts of Two Ostraca from Elath," *BASOR* 183 [1966]: 29 = idem, *Studies in West-Semitic Epigraphy* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 2009], 311; idem, "A Palaeographic Note on the Distribution of the Hebrew Script," *HTR* 61 [1968]: 70 = *Studies*, 12; idem, "The Scripts in Palestine and Transjordan in the Iron Age," in *Near Eastern Archaeology in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Honor of Nelson Glueck* [J. H. Sanders, ed.; Garden City, N.J., 1970], 280 = *Studies*, 6; "Some Semitic Epigraphical Considerations on the Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet," *AJA* 77 [1973]: 2 = *Scripts*, 81; idem, "Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from 'Izbet Sartah," *IEJ* 28 [1978]: 33; idem, *Early History of the Alphabet* [2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed.; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University; 1987; repr., 1997], 65-58, 100-11).

F. M. Cross Jr. also argues that "the Moabite scripts stem from a Hebrew archetype" ("Ammonite Ostraca from Tell Hisbān," in *Small Finds: Studies of Bone, Iron, Glass, Figurines, and Stone Objects from Tell Hesban and Vicinity*. Hesban 12 [P. J. Ray Jr., ed.; Berrien Springs, Mich.: Andrews University/Institute of Archaeology, 2009], 29-56 = *Leaves from an Epigrapher's Notebook: Collected Papers in Hebrew and West Semitic Palaeography and Epigraphy*. Harvard Semitic Studies 51 [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2003], 70-94); "Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel Inscription," *BASOR* 193 [1969]: 14 = *Leaves*, 95).

P. K. McCarter Jr. regards Moabite as a daughter script of Hebrew ("Paleographic Notes on the Tel Zayit Abecedar," in *Literate Culture and Tenth-Century Canaan: The Tel Zayit Abecedar in Context* [R. E. Tappy and P. K. McCarter Jr., eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008], 49; R. E. Tappy, P. Kyle McCarter Jr., M. J. Lundberg, and B. Zuckerman, "An Abecedar of the Mid-Tenth Century B.C.E. from the Judaean Shephelah," *BASOR* 344 [2006]: 26-27).

Based especially on his study of Northwest Semitic seals, L. G. Herr argues that the Mesha stele and contemporary Hebrew inscriptions share a common script tradition and refers to this tradition as "the South Palestinian script" (*The Scripts of Ancient Northwest Semitic Seals* [Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press for Harvard Semitic Museum, 1978], 191; "The Formal Scripts of Iron Age Transjordan," *BASOR* 238 [1980]: 21-34).

Likewise, S. Timm states, "Eher ist damit zu rechnen, daß sich der palästinische Schriftduktus, d.h. die Schriftform der Kanaanäer/Phönizier im Küstenland, der Israeliten, Judäer, Philister und eben die der Moabiter im Ostjordanland umfassend, aus einer einheitlichen spätbronzezeitlichen Form herausgebildet hat und unter den einzelnen Völkerschaften dann ihre jeweilige Sonderausprägung bekam. Die moabitische Schrift ist als ostjordanische Ausprägung der palästinischen Schrift anzusehen" (*Moab zwischen den Mächten: Studien zu historischen Denkmälern und Texten* [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989], 302; cf. 277). His discussion of Moabite script is found on pages 158-302.

Z. Zevit argues that the scripts present in the ninth-century Moabite and Hebrew inscriptions should be evaluated separately (*The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches* [New York: Continuum, 2001], 377-78 and notes 51-52).

See especially the discussions of the scripts of the Mesha stele, el-Kerak fragment, and Dibon fragment below.

For further discussion of the eventual development of a distinct Moabite script tradition see J. Naveh, "Canaanite and Hebrew Inscriptions," *Leshonenu* 30 (1966): 65-80 (in Hebrew); idem, *Early History*, 101-05; Herr, *The Scripts*, 191; idem, "The Formal Scripts," 21-34. For a summary list of Moabite inscriptions dating to the ninth-eighth centuries, with bibliography see, E. Gass, *Die Moabiter—Geschichte und Kultur eines ostjordanischen Volkes im 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 5-83.

Cf. the way in which the Ammonite script tradition in this period was influenced by and employed the writing practices of the Aramaean city-states, as discussed in the Aramaic-script chapter.

historical reasons for suggesting that the script tradition employed by Moab in its early inscriptions is Hebrew, and I will discuss these reasons in the conclusion below.

The earliest examples of the cursive Hebrew script tradition were recovered in Cisjordan. Four ostraca from Arad Stratum XI (nos. 76-79) and six short inscriptions on pottery from Tel Rehov (nos. 6-11) derive from securely-dated ninth-century archaeological contexts (Fig. 31). Numerous inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud come from a secure archaeological context dated to the late ninth-early eighth century<sup>934</sup> (Figs. 32-33).

I compare these inscriptions with the following Hebrew texts from the eighth century. The securely-dated cursive inscriptions are:<sup>935</sup> the Samaria ostraca<sup>936</sup> and ostraca and other incised

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<sup>934</sup> There are four mid-ninth-century incised fragments from Hazor (Y. Yadin and S. Angress, *Hazor II: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956* [Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University, 1960], 70-75, Pls. CLXIX-CLXXII; Gibson I:5; F. W. Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University, 2005], *Hazr* 1-4, pages 183-87). They are too brief to determine in which language they are written. Their script seems more Phoenician than Hebrew; note in no. 1 the upside-down-h waw, in no. 3 the *bet* with foot extending to the right of the spine that is reminiscent of *bet* in the Shipitba'al and 'Abda inscriptions from Byblos, and in no. 4 the elongated strokes of the *taws* (if these characters are *taws*).

A fragment from Megiddo IVB might also date to the ninth century. (C. Watzinger and G. Schumacher, *Tell el-Mutesellim II: Bericht über die 1903 bis 1905 mit Unterstützung SR. Majestät des deutschen Kaisers und der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft vom deutschen Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas Veranfalteten Ausgrabungen* [Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche, 1929], 71-72; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Meg* 2, pages 353-55). Like the fragments from Hazor, it is too brief to determine in which language it is written. Its script might also be Phoenician. Note the elongated vertical of *taw*.

<sup>935</sup> A number of short eighth-century fragments have been recovered from various Cisjordan sites. I have not included them in this dissertation, as they do not provide any additional data (letter forms) not known from the larger corpus of inscriptions listed above.

Four fragments from Hazor (Yadin and Angress, *Hazor II*, 70-75, Pls. CLXIX-CLXXII). See also Gibson I:5; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Hazr* 5-9, 14, pages 187-92; S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past: Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 330-32; J. Renz, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*. Vols. I-III (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995), Vol. I: *Die althebräischen Inschriften: Text und Kommentar*, pages 124-28; Vol. III: *Texte und Tafeln*, Pl. XI, 3-8.

Two fragments from Tell Qasile (Gibson I:4; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 227-31; III: Pl. XXII, 13-14; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Qas* 1-2, pages 401-04; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 154-56; B. Maisler, "Two Hebrew Ostraca from Tell Qasile," *JNES* 10 [1951]: 265-67).

One inscribed jug and one fragment from Tell el-'Oreimeh (Tel Kinrot) (Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Orem* 1-2, pages 397-99; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 132-34, 225; III: Pls. XII, 1; XXII, 10; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 332; V. Fritz, "Kinneret: Vorbericht über die Ausgrabungen auf dem Tell el-'Orême am See Genezaret in den Jahren 1982-1985," *ZDPV* 102 [1986]: 1-39; I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, "The Jar of the Gate," *BASOR* 289 [1993]: 59-65).

Note also the Hebrew ivories found at Nimrud that may be dated palaeographically to the eighth century (Gibson I:6; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 128-29; III: Pl. XI, 9-11; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Nim* 1-5, pages 391-96; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 329-30; A. Millard, "Alphabetic Inscriptions on Ivories from Nimrud," *Iraq* 24 [1962]: 41-51; idem, "Fitters' Marks," in *Ivories from Room SW 37, Fort Shalmaneser* [G. Herrmann, ed.; London: British School of Archaeology in Iraq, 1986], 43-46; P. K. McCarter Jr., "Inscribed Nimrud Ivories [2.88]," in *COS* 2, 224).

<sup>936</sup> Gibson I:2, 3; *KAI* 183-188; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 79-110; III: Pls. VI, 3; VII; VIII, 1-2; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Samr*, pages 423-96; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 258-312. See especially, C. A. Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe in Israel and Judah: The Script of Hebrew Ostraca, Incised, and Chiseled Inscriptions*, forthcoming.

inscriptions from Arad Strata X-VIII<sup>937</sup> (Fig. 34). The formal inscriptions are: Khirbet el-Qom inscription 3 (Uriah Tomb inscription),<sup>938</sup> the Siloam Tunnel inscription,<sup>939</sup> and the Royal Steward inscription (Silwan Tomb inscription 1)<sup>940</sup> (Fig. 35). Khirbet-el Qom 3 comes from a secure archaeological context dated to the eighth-seventh centuries. Its date is narrowed palaeographically to the first half of the eighth century in comparison with the securely-dated eighth-century Hebrew

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Over 100 inscriptions were found in 1910 during the excavations of Samaria led by G. A. Reisner (G. A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria: 1908-1910*. Vols. 1-2 [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1924]). The ink ostraca are dated to the early part of the second quarter of the eighth century, and generally associated with the reign of the Israelite king Jeroboam II (786-746 BCE), based on the archaeological context in which they were found and also on internal date formulae. See the summary discussion in Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. Palaeographically these ostraca are more advanced than the inscriptions from Kuntilet 'Ajrud, which date to the late ninth-early eighth century.

Several other inscriptions were found at Samaria from 1931-1935, during the Joint Expedition excavations led by J. W. Crowfoot. These include two incised ostraca: C 1101, often referred to as the Barley Letter; and C 1012, a list of names. They were found in area E 207, in a deep, circular trench; and this location, along with their pottery type and palaeography (these texts are palaeographically more advanced than the ink ostraca found during the Reisner excavations), suggests a date in the third quarter of the eighth century, just before the fall of Samaria to the Assyrians in 722 BCE. See especially, S. Birnbaum, "The Sherds," in Crowfoot, *The Objects from Samaria*, (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957), 9-25, Pl. 1; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 135-39, 140-41; III: Pl. XII, 5, 8; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Samr* 111-112, pages 487-92; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 310-12.

A small fragment of a stone stele with only three letters remaining was found by the Department of Antiquities in 1936 during the clearing of debris near the Israelite East Gate (Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 135; III: Pl. XII, 4; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Samr* 119, pages 496-97; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 257). Palaeographically, in comparison with the aforementioned securely-dated material from Samaria, it dates to the eighth century. I have not included it in this study, as it adds no new letter forms to the Samaria dataset.

<sup>937</sup> Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981). See also, Gibson I:13; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 67-74, 111-22, 145-65; III: Pls. V, 1-9; IX-X; XIV-XVI, 1-9; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Arad*, pages 5-108; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 92-153.

Aharoni, the excavator of Tel Arad, originally associated Stratum X with the late tenth-ninth century. However, the consensus of archaeological scholarship now prefers an eighth-century date for this stratum, as well as for Strata IX-VIII (see note 1194 below). Palaeographically these inscriptions date to the eighth century.

The following ostraca come from stratified archaeological contexts. From Stratum X: nos. 67-68, 70. From Stratum IX: nos. 60, 62, 65-66, 87. From Stratum VII: nos. 40-57.

The following inscriptions were incised on pottery after firing. They come from stratified archaeological contexts. From Stratum X: nos. 98 (jug), 100 (bowl sherd), 101 (sherd), 102-103 (bowls). (For a discussion of the bowls, see especially F. M. Cross Jr., "Two Offering Dishes with Phoenician Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of 'Arad," *BASOR* 235 [1979]: 75-78 = *Leaves*, 290-92).

From Stratum IX: nos. 92 (sherd), 93 (jug), 99 (bowl).

From Stratum VIII: nos. 89-91 (sherds), 95 (jug sherd).

<sup>938</sup> Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 199-211; III: Pls. XX, 1-2; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Qom* 3, pages 408-14; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 220-221.

<sup>939</sup> Gibson I:7; *KAI* 189; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 178-89; III: Pl. XVIII, 1; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Silm*, pages 507-06; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 19-25.

<sup>940</sup> Gibson I:8; *KAI* 189B; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 191-92; III: Pl. XVIII, 3; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Silw* 1, pages 507-10; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 44-48. The Royal Steward inscription was found in 1870, in a tomb in the modern village of Silwan in the Kidron Valley.

cursive inscriptions.<sup>941</sup> The Siloam Tunnel inscription comes from an unstratified but secure archaeological context; it is dated to the second half of the eighth century based on a convergence of internal content and palaeographic comparison with the securely-dated eighth-century Hebrew cursive inscriptions.<sup>942</sup> The Royal Steward inscription is dated palaeographically to the second half of the eighth century in comparison with the securely-dated eighth-century Hebrew cursive inscriptions and with Khirbet el-Qom 3 and the Siloam Tunnel inscription.<sup>943</sup>

## The Formal Corpus

### The Mesha Stele (Moabite Stone) (Fig. 36)

The Mesha stele (*KAI* 181; Gibson I:16) was discovered in 1868 by F. A. Klein, an Alsatian medical missionary.<sup>944</sup> Klein found the stele near Dhiban, Jordan, in the territory of the Bani Ḥamidi tribe. Though it was not recovered from a stratified archaeological context, the stele may be dated based on the content of its inscription. It is a memorial stele, commemorating various events that occurred during the reign of King Mesha of Moab, including military operations and building

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<sup>941</sup> W. Dever, the excavator of the Khirbet el-Qom tombs, from whence this inscription comes, dates the tombs to the eighth-seventh centuries, based on the convergence of tomb style, pottery typology, and palaeography ("Iron Age Epigraphic Material from the Area of Khirbet el-Kôm," *HUCA* 40-41 [1969-70]: 139-204). Palaeographically, Khirbet el-Qom 3 dates to the first half of the eighth century, as its letter forms compare nicely to those in the Samaria ink ostraca and Arad X-VIII inscriptions and are not as advanced as some forms in the Siloam Tunnel and Royal Steward inscriptions. (These inscriptions are discussed just below.)

<sup>942</sup> This inscription was found accidentally by some young men in 1880 in the Siloam Tunnel beneath Jerusalem, which leads from the Gihon on the northeast side of the city of David to the pool of Siloam on the southwest side. This tunnel was likely cut during the reign of King Hezekiah of Judah (c. 716-687 BCE), sometime before the siege of the Neo-Assyrian king, Sennacherib, in 701 BCE. The inscription describes the actual cutting of the tunnel. Palaeographically, it dates to the second half of the eighth century. Several of its letter forms are advanced beyond those in the Samaria ink ostraca and Arad X-VIII inscriptions.

Cf. J. Rogerson and P. R. Davies, "Was the Siloam Tunnel Built by Hezekiah?" *BA* 59 (1996): 138-49; F. M. Cross Jr., "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II. The Murabba'at Papyrus and the Letter Found near Yabneh-Yam," in *Leaves*, 117 n.6.

<sup>943</sup> I have included it in this chapter, because it appears frequently in palaeographic discussions of early Hebrew script.

<sup>944</sup> Alsace was under the rule of the Prussian Empire at that time.

F. A. Klein, "The Original Discovery of the Moabite Stone," *PEFQS* 6 (1870): 281-83; idem, "The Moabite Stone," *The Athenaeum* 2546 (Aug. 12, 1976): 210-11.

activities.<sup>945</sup> King Mesha was a contemporary of King Ahab of Israel, whose father, Omri, is mentioned by name in the Mesha inscription (lines 5, 7). Ahab himself is known from both the Hebrew Bible and the Neo-Assyrian texts of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BCE).<sup>946</sup>

Initially the Prussian, French, and British governments made inquiries into purchasing the stele from the Bani Ḥamidi. In 1869, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, a French translator and guide for the French consul of Jerusalem, commissioned an Arab, Y. Karavaca, to make a squeeze of the stele. While Karavaca and his party were producing the squeeze, fighting broke out in the Bani Ḥamidi camp, and the group had to flee. One of Karavaca's horsemen, S. Jamil, had to rip the squeeze from the stele before it was dry, stuffing the pieces into his robe pocket as he fled. Clermont-Ganneau received the squeeze crumpled and in multiple parts. Shortly afterward, the Bani Ḥamidi broke the stele apart. The French, led by Clermont-Ganneau, and the British, led by Capt. C. Warren of the Palestine Exploration Fund (PEF), gathered as many fragments as they could find, and in 1873 and 1874, Clermont-Ganneau and the PEF gave these fragments to the Louvre museum. Clermont-Ganneau, with the aid of his squeeze, reassembled the recovered fragments and reconstructed as much of the missing sections of the stele as possible.<sup>947</sup>

Currently on display in the Louvre (AO 5066, AO 2142, AO 5060), the black basalt stele, in its reconstructed state, measures 1.15 m x 60-68 cm. 34 lines of the inscription have been preserved, though many of these lines are missing some text, typically a few letters at the end of each line. The

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<sup>945</sup> M. Miller, "The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stela," *PEQ* 106 (1974): 9-18.; idem, "Moab and the Moabites," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (A. Dearman, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 37-40; J. Drinkard, "The Literary Genre of the Mesha' Inscription," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (A. Dearman, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 131-54.

<sup>946</sup> The Kurkh Monolith in A. K. Grayson, ed., *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia: Assyrian Periods*. Vol. 3: Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC) (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996), 11-24. See also K. Lawson Younger, "Kurkh Monolith (2.113A)," in *COS* 2, 261-64; R. Borger et al., *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments* (O. Kaiser, ed.; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1982), 360-62.

<sup>947</sup> S. Horn, "The Discovery of the Moabite Stone," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of D. N. Freedman* (C. L. Meyers and M. O'Connor, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 497-505; idem, "Why the Moabite Stone Was Blown to Pieces: 9<sup>th</sup>-Century B.C. Inscription Adds New Dimension to Biblical Account of Mesha's Rebellion," *BAR* 12.3 (May/June 1986): 50-61; M. P. Graham, "The Discovery and Reconstruction of the Mesha Inscription," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (A. Dearman, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 41-92; A. Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription," *BAR* 3 (1994): 30-37.

Louvre exhibited Clermont-Ganneau's squeeze alongside the stele for quite some time, though it is now in museum storage.<sup>948</sup>

Clermont-Ganneau first published the stele in 1870.<sup>949</sup> A history of scholarship and bibliography can be found in J. C. L. Gibson<sup>950</sup> and in A. Dearman.<sup>951</sup> A photograph is available in S. Ahituv.<sup>952</sup> Though the inscription is written in the Moabite language,<sup>953</sup> its script is Hebrew<sup>954</sup> and dates palaeographically to the mid-ninth century BCE.<sup>955</sup>

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<sup>948</sup> There is also a very early, palaeographically inaccurate, sketch of the stele in storage in the Louvre. It was published by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Méša, examen critique du texte," *JA* 9 [1887]: 84).

<sup>949</sup> Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, "La stèle de Dhiban," *RAr* (1870): 184-207, 357-86; idem, *La stèle de Dhiban ou stèle de Mesa roi de Moab, 896 avant J. C. Lettres à M. Le Cte de Vogüé* (Paris: Librairie Polytechnique de J. Baudry, 1870).

<sup>950</sup> Gibson I:16.

<sup>951</sup> A. Dearman, *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989). See also, Ahituv, *Echoes*, 389-418; Lemaire, "'House of David' Restored in Moabite Inscription," 30-37; idem, "Notes d'épigraphie nord-ouest sémitique," *Syria* 64 (1987): 205-16; idem, "La stèle de Méša et l'histoire de l'ancien Israël," in *Storia e tradizioni di Israele; scritti in onore di J. Alberto Soggin* (D. Garrone and F. Israel, eds.; Brescia: Paidei, 1991), 143-69; idem, "La dynastie davidique [byt dwd] dans deux inscriptions ouest-sémitiques du IXe s. av. J.-C.," *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul vicino oriente antico* 11 (1994): 17-19; idem, "The Mesha Stele and the Omri Dynasty," in *Ahab Agonistes: The Rise and Fall of the Omri Dynasty* (L. L. Grabbe, ed.; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 135-44; idem, "New Photographs and 'ryt' or 'hyt' in the Mesha Inscription," *IEJ* 57 (2007): 204-07; K. A. D. Smelik, "Kemosh Was Angry with His Land: The Mesha Stele," in *Writings from Ancient Israel: A Handbook of Historical and Religious Documents* (G. I. Davies, trans.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox Press, 1991), 29-50; idem, "King Mesha's Inscription: Between History and Fiction," in *Converting the Past: Studies in Ancient Israelite and Moabite Historiography*. Old Testament Studies 28 (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 59-92; idem, "The Inscription of King Mesha (2.23)," in *COS* 2, 137-38; A. Rainey, "Mesha' and Syntax," in *The Land that I will Show You: Essays on the History and Archaeology of the Ancient Near East in Honour of J. Maxwell Miller* (J. A. Dearman and M. P. Graham, eds.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001), 287-307; Gass, *Die Moabiter*, 5-65.

<sup>952</sup> Ahituv, *Echoes*, 389-418. As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study available on InscriptiFact (n.p, [cited 13 September 2013]; online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com)).

<sup>953</sup> K. Jackson, "The Language of the Mesha Stele," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* (A. Dearman, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 96-130.

<sup>954</sup> Cf. note 933. F. M. Cross Jr. refers to script of Mesha as "early Hebrew" ("Epigraphic Notes on the 'Ammān Citadel,'" 14 = *Leaves*, 95). Naveh says the earliest Hebrew script features are seen in the Mesha stele (and the el-Kerak and Dibon fragments) ("A Palaeographic Note," 70 = *Studies*, 12; "Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from 'Izbet Šarṭah," 33). A. Biran and J. Naveh state that the script "of the Mesha stele has some Hebrew traits" ("An Aramaic Stele from Tel Dan," *IEJ* 43 [1993]: 95 n. 24). Smelik says "For the inscriptions of Mesha characters were used which correspond to what was customary in Israel at the time. It is not improbable that Moab came under strong cultural influence from Israel and that scribes connected with the royal court of Israel were brought in." ("Kemosh was Angry," 35-36).

M. Weippert refers to the script as Moabite lapidary ("Archäologischer Jahresbericht," *ZDPV* 80 [1964]: 169).

Clermont-Ganneau says the Mesha stele provides an example of the diffusion of the Phoenician ("ou plutôt chananéé") alphabet and that it is noteworthy that the Hebrew alphabet resembles the Moabite alphabet in this period ("La stèle de Dhiban," 202, 204). G. Rawlinson also refers to the Mesha script as "Phoenician" but says that "the term 'Phoenician' is not altogether a happy one... (as this script) was common to all the races of Western Asia from Egypt to the foot of the Taurus, and from the Mediterranean to Nineveh" ("The Moabite Stone," *Contemporary Review* 15 [1870]: 104, and especially the first note on that page). A. Löwy says the Mesha stele is written in "Phoenician characters" (*A Critical Examination of the So-called Moabite Inscription in the Louvre* [3<sup>rd</sup> rev. and amended ed.; London: printed for private circulation, 1903], 28). Z. Harris refers to the Mesha script as the Phoenician alphabet (*Development of the Canaanite*

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*Dialects: An Investigation in Linguistic History*. AOS 16 [New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1939], 24). H. Michaud likewise says the Mesha stele is written in the Phoenician alphabet ("Le récit de Il Rois, III et la stele de Mésha," *Cahiers d'archéologie bibliques* 10 [1958]: 33).

W. H. Ward says the script of the Moabites (as seen in the Mesha stele) is identical with the Hebrew and Phoenician scripts in this period ("The Inscription of Mesha, King of Moab," *BSac* 27 [1870]: 645).

K. Schlottmann says the Mesha script is essentially identical to Phoenician and Hebrew, yet it shows particular nuances (*Die Siegestsäule Mesa's Königs der Moabiter: Eine Beitrag zur Hebräischen Alterthumskunde* [Halle: Verlag der buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1870], 6). Unfortunately, he does not discuss these "nuances" further.

A. Millard states that the Mesha script is "a most elegant script of plainly cursive type, exhibited in other Moabite texts and a large number of Hebrew documents of the eighth century B.C. and later. In these writings is a well-defined ductus which can be termed generally Palestinian. (Free introduction of national names for varieties of scripts, such as Hebrew, Moabite, Ammonite, may lead to misapprehension unless there are other clear indicators." ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet and Its Passage to the Greeks," *Kadmos* 15 [1976]: 132).

<sup>955</sup> An anonymous review in the *Journal of Anthropology* dates the inscription to c.930-920 BCE (review of C. D. Ginsburg, *The Moabite Stone: A Fac-simile of the Original Inscription, with an English Translation, and a Historical and Critical Commentary*, *Journal of Anthropology* 1.3 [1871]: 349-54).

The following date the text to the ninth century BCE: É. Puech ("La stèle de Mesha: Un roi de Moab proclame ses victoires," *MdB* 46 [1986]: 28-29; Horn ("Why the Moabite Stone Was Blown to Pieces," 50-61); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 60); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 387).

Some date the text to the first half of the ninth century. Clermont-Ganneau first suggested c.850 ("La stèle de Dhiban," 203) but then 896 BCE (*La stèle de Dhiban*); Rawlinson, earlier half of the ninth century ("The Moabite Stone," 102); Ward, probably the first quarter ("The Inscription of Mesha" 644); *The North British Review*, 896-894 ("The Moabite Inscription," *The North British Review*, Oct. [1870]: 29); Schlottmann, c.896 (*Die Siegestsäule Mesa's Königs der Moabiter*, 2); C. D. Ginsburg, c.890 (*The Moabite Stone: A Fac-simile of the Original Inscription, and a Historical and Critical Commentary* [2<sup>nd</sup> revised and enlarged edition; London: Reeves and Turner, 1871], 16); Löwy, c.900 (*A Critical Examination*, 2); H. D. B. Compston, 896-94 (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša', Commonly Called the Moabite Stone: The Text in Moabite and Hebrew, with Translation* [New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919], 29).

The consensus of scholarship dates the text to the mid-ninth century BCE: G. A. Cooke (*A Text-book of North-Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903], #1, pages, 1-2); W. H. Bennett, c.843 (*The Moabite Stone* [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911], 9); R. Dussaud, c.842 (*Les monuments palestiniens et judaïques: Moab, Judée, Philistie, Samarie, Galilée* [Paris: Musée du Louvre, 1912], 5); H. Bauer, c.842 ("Eine phönikische Inschrift aus dem 13. Jahrh.," *OLZ* 28 [1925]: 138); Harris (*Development of the Canaanite Dialects*, 24); W. F. Albright Jr., c.830 BCE ("A Votive Stele Erected by Ben-Hadad I of Damascus to the God Melcarth," *BASOR* 87 [1942]: 23-29; "Palestinian Inscriptions," in *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [J. B. Pritchard, ed.; Princeton: Princeton University, 1<sup>st</sup> ed., 1950; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1955; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., 1969], 320; personal communication in R. E. Murphy, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon," *BASOR* 125 [1952]: 23 n.12); Ullendorff, c.830 ("The Moabite Stone," in *Documents from Old Testament Times* [T. D. Winton, ed.; London: T. Nelson, 1958], 195-98, Pl. 10); A. H. Van Zyl, c.840 (*The Moabites* [Leiden: Brill, 1960], 33, 144); Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the Amman Citadel," 15, 17 = *Leaves*, 98); E. Lipiński, c.830 ("North Semitic Texts from the First Millennium BC," in *Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to the Old Testament* [W. Beyerlin, ed.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1978], 237); D. Pardee, c.850 ("Literary Sources for the History of Palestine and Syria II," *AUSS* 17 [1979]: 47-69); I. Kaufman, c.840, ("The Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness to Hebrew Writing," *BA* 45 [1982]: 233); G. Garbini, c.840 ("Dati epigrafici e linguistici sul territorio palestinese fino al VI sec a.C.," *RevistB* 32 [1984]: 72); Millard, c.840 ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," 132); H. P. Müller ("Moabitsche Historische Inschriften," in *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments [TUAT] I*, 6, [Gütersloh, 1985], 646-50, esp.646); G. van der Kooij, c.850 ("The Identity of Trans-Jordanian Alphabetic Writing in the Iron Age," *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 3 [1987], 113); B. Barrick, C.850 ("The Bamoth of Moab," *MAARAV* 7 [1991], 68); J. Tropper, c.845-40 ("Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," *UF* 25 [1993]: 395-406; *Die Inschriften von Zircirli: Neue Edition und vergleichende Grammatik des phönizischen, sam'alischen und aramäischen Textkorpus* [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1993], 339); W. Röllig, c.830 ("L'alphabet," in *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche* [New York: Brill, 1995], 214); B. Routledge, c.850 ("The Politics of Mesha: Segmented Identities and State Formation in Iron Age Moab," *JESHO* 43 [2000]: 221-56); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 287); Zevit, c.850 (*Religions of Ancient Israel*, 377).

P. K. McCarter Jr. dates it to the second half of the ninth century (*Ancient Inscriptions: Voices from the Biblical World* [Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1996], 91). So also Lemaire prefers a palaeographic date in the second half of the ninth century. He dates the text from its content more precisely to the last quarter of the ninth century, c.810 ("Notes d'épigraphie," 214; "*La stèle de Mésha* et l'histoire de l'ancien Israël," 146-50; "House of David," 30-37; "La dynastie davidique," 17-19; "The Mesha Stele and the Omri Dynasty," 135).

When studying the Mesha stele, it is important to note not only the history of its discovery and reconstruction, but also the history of its study and the various, often lesser-known or lesser-discussed issues surrounding this history of scholarship. Many of these issues are related to the usefulness of Clermont-Ganneau's original squeeze and of the reconstructed portions of the text vis-à-vis the preserved portions of the original.

(1) *The Limitations of the Squeeze, Then*: Though rarely discussed, the usefulness of the squeeze has always been limited, most especially because of the conditions under which it was produced, conditions which I discussed above. While the squeeze was certainly important for determining the order and position in which the fragments of the stele should be reassembled, it seems that it did not preserve in full the stele's inscription, as Clermont-Ganneau's squeeze-based reconstruction of this inscription has several lacunae. Most importantly, this reconstruction is missing its left edge; therefore, most of the ends of the lines of the reconstructed text are missing one or more letters (as referenced above).

Various scholars have produced their own transliterations of the Mesha inscription using not only Clermont-Ganneau's reconstruction of the stele but also their own studies of the squeeze. Some have argued that they can see different and/or additional letters on the squeeze, especially at the left ends of the lines, than those restored by Clermont-Ganneau in his reconstruction.<sup>956</sup> Clermont-Ganneau interacted with many of the early studies, and though occasionally, after rechecking the squeeze, he altered his initial readings, he maintained the majority of them.<sup>957</sup> Even after the Louvre removed the squeeze from display, scholars continued to study it. The best known recent study was produced by Lemaire and published in 1994.

(2) *The Limitations of the Squeeze, Now*: In the summer of 2011, while collating the Mesha stele, I attempted to study the squeeze as well. Unfortunately, however, it has greatly deteriorated—

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<sup>956</sup> Note especially R. Smend and A. Socin, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Freiburg: Akademische Verlagsbuchhandlung von J. C. B. Mohr, 1886) and the various transliterations referenced below.

<sup>957</sup> Clermont-Ganneau, "La stèle de Méša, Examen," 72-112.



only a handful of letters can be readily seen—and its value for epigraphic analysis is greatly reduced. Thus, it is currently quite difficult, if not completely impossible, to confirm earlier readings produced entirely from the study of the squeeze.<sup>958</sup> For this reason, I produced my transliteration of the Mesha inscription below using only Clermont-Ganneau’s reconstruction of the stele. Additionally, in this transliteration I mark those portions of the text that come from the original fragments of the inscription in bold-faced type in order to distinguish them from the reconstructed portions.

(3) *The Limitations of Transliterations and Drawings*: Most scholars studying the Mesha stele have attempted to complete the ends of the lines of text either by studying the squeeze themselves, as discussed above, or by reconstructing these lines based on readings from the preserved portions of the stele. Unfortunately, however, some of these scholars do not always make it clear which approach they use to complete these lines. Most importantly, in their transliterations they do not always mark their reconstructions as simple reconstructions. This practice has been particularly disadvantageous for the study of the Mesha stele, as subsequent researchers, relying heavily on the work of earlier scholars, have often perpetuated many reconstructed readings as if they were certain.<sup>959</sup>

(4) *The Limitations of the Squeeze and of the Reconstruction for Palaeographic Analysis*: In this study I have included a drawing of only the original fragments of the stele, and my script chart and palaeographic analysis of this inscription are based only on these original fragments. The use of

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<sup>958</sup> Lemaire published an image of the squeeze in 1994 (“House of David,” 36). The squeeze was in much better shape then than in 2011. However, from this image, I still could not make out any of the “additional” letters on the left edge.

<sup>959</sup> A particularly striking example of the interdependence of scholarship on the Mesha stele involves the drawing of the stele found in M. Lidzbarski’s *Handbuch der nordsemitischen epigraphic* II, published in 1898 (*Handbuch der nordsemitischen epigraphic*. Vol. II [Weimar: E. Felber, 1898], Taf. I). This drawing has been reprinted numerous times in various publications discussing the Mesha stele, and, to my knowledge, no completely new drawing of the stele has been produced since 1898. Note, for example, that Lemaire’s 1994 article on the stele states, “The drawing at the right, produced by Lidzbarski, has been corrected by Professor Lemaire” (Lemaire, “House of David,” 35). What is most interesting is that the drawing that is found in Lidzbarski’s *Handbuch* is itself a slight modification of the drawing originally produced by K. G. Amandus Nordlander in 1896 (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* [Leipzig: Druck von W. Drugulin, 1896], 60, Pl. I). Unfortunately, Nordlander is rarely ever credited for his drawing, if at all). I did not rely on any previous illustrations when making my drawing of the Mesha stele that appears in this study. As I only consulted the original portions of the stele for my palaeographic analysis, as discussed below, I only drew that portion of the text. I hope to make a full drawing of the stele, including the reconstructed portions, in the near future.

the squeeze would always have been limited for palaeographic analysis, due to the tattered condition in which it came into Clermont-Ganneau's possession. Currently, in its even further deteriorated state, it has little value for palaeographic study. Few letters can be seen completely on the squeeze, and those that can add nothing that is not already known from the study of the preserved portions of the stele itself.

Likewise, the reconstructed portions of the stele should not be used for palaeographic analysis. It is certainly tempting to do so, as these are the parts of the inscription that are easiest to see, and it is assumed that because they were reconstructed from the squeeze that their letter forms are good ninth-century forms. Though the letters present on the reconstructed portions of the stele *are* typically good ninth-century forms, when collating the inscription in 2011, it became clear to me that in comparison with those letters found on the original fragments of the stele, the reconstructed letters are almost “too perfect.” They do not show the slight variation that is present in individual letters that have been made by a human hand. They appear almost as if they have been typeset, using one clear example of each letter taken from the original fragments. That being said, I must state that the engraver of the original Mesha inscription was extremely skilled and consistent. Of the inscriptions that I have included in this dissertation, there are none with more consistently executed letter forms. Still, the letter forms from the reconstructed portions of the Mesha stele are even more uniform than those found on the original fragments, and, I would argue, are therefore misleading for conducting a palaeographic analysis of the Mesha script.<sup>960</sup>

Transliteration:

1. 'nk.<sup>961</sup> mš' . bn . km<sup>962</sup> š .<sup>963</sup> g<sup>964</sup> d<sup>965</sup> 966 mlk . m'b . hd<sup>967</sup>

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<sup>960</sup> Cf. the discussion of “acceptable range of variance” in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>961</sup> Word and section dividers are used consistently throughout this inscription. There are two types: a dot and a vertical line. Dots are used as simple word dividers, while vertical lines are used as section dividers. Because the inscription is damaged, it is not always clear where (especially) the single-dot word dividers occur. In the following transliteration, I note all of the word dividers that I see. I also make note of the places where other scholars typically read word dividers, but where I believe these dividers cannot be seen because of the damage to the stone. For this particular

## 2. ybny | 'by . mlk . 'l . m'b . šlšn . št . w'n[ ]<sup>968</sup>lk

inscription, unlike with other inscriptions, I will not list every scholar that does/does not place a word divider in every place where I believe ones does/does not occur, as this text has been treated by numerous scholars and there are numerous word dividers in the text. However, I will expressly note if a question regarding the presence of a word divider results in a different reading/translation of the text.

The studies of Schlottmann (*Die Siegestsäule Mesa's Königs der Moabiter*, 51) and Van Zyl (*The Moabites*, Addendum 1) are not mentioned below, as they give very poor transliterations of the inscription that frequently differ with the text that is present on the stele.

<sup>962</sup> This letter is likely *mem* based on the frequent occurrence of *kmš* throughout the text. However, it might also be a *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, or *pe*.

<sup>963</sup> Ward ("The Inscription of Mesha," 628); T. Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab. 9. Jahrhundert vor Christus* [Kiel: Schwes, 1870], 4); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); M. Lidzbarski (*Handbuch der nordsemitischen epigraphic*. Vol. I [Weimar: E. Felber, 1898], 417; *Handbuch der nordsemitischen epigraphic*. Vol. II [Weimar: E. Felber, 1898], Taf. I); H. Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," in *Altorientalische Forschungen* [Leipzig: Eduard Pfeiffer, 1901], 402); the illustration in Dearman (J. A. Dearman, ed., *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 307 [note that this illustration was produced by J. Drinkard (personal communication)]); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); and S. R. Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha', commonly known as the 'Moabite Stone'" in *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel: With an Introduction on Hebrew Palaeography and the Ancient Versions* [Repr. and rev. ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013], lxxxvi) do not read the word divider. It is there in the reconstruction.

<sup>964</sup> *The North British Review* reads nothing here ("The Moabite Inscription," 6).

<sup>965</sup> Ward also restores "ndb" ("Inscription of Mesha," 628). Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read "mlk". Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3) and Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62) restore "mlk". Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); A. LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," *RB* 10 [1901]: 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa'*, 11); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read nothing here. J. Halévy ("Supplément: l'inscription de Mésa', roi de Moab," in *Recherches bibliques: Histoire des origines d'après la Genèse. Texte, traduction et commentaire*. Vol. 2 [Genève, XXV, 19-L, 26] [Paris: Librairie de la société asiatique de l'école des langues orientales, vivantes, etc., 1901], 522) and A. Poebel (*Das appositionell bestimmte Pronomen der 1. Pers. sing. in den westsemitischen Inschriften und im Alten Testament* [Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1932], 8) read "kn" here. Dussaud restores "gd" (*Les monuments*, 5). G. Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," *Or* 35 [1966]: 82); P. Auffret ("Essai sur la structure littéraire de la stèle de Mésa'," *UF* 12 [1980]: 110); Lemaire ("House of David," 33); K. P. Jackson and J. A. Dearman ("The Text of the Mesha' Inscription," in *Studies in the Mesha Inscription and Moab* [J. A. Dearman, ed.; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 93); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); A. Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha and the Bible: Verbal System and Narrativity," *Orientalia* (NS) 63 [1994]: 227); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); *KAI* 181 (41); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 7) do not read "gd," they restore "yt".

<sup>966</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>967</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6) do not read "hd" as certain, though they restore it.

<sup>968</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); Poebel (*Das appositionell*, 8); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa'*, 11); D. Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa. Index bibliographique* [Paris: Editions Ernest Leroux, 1920], 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 82); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 110); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 93); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 227); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); *KAI* 181 (41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 7); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read "k . m". This area of the inscription is damaged, and I can offer no definitive reading.

3. **ty**<sup>969</sup> . **’hr** . **’b[ ]**<sup>970</sup> | **w’š** . **hbmt** . **z’t** . **lkmš**<sup>971</sup> **bqrḥh** |<sup>972</sup> [ ]<sup>973</sup>
4. **š’** . **ky** . **hš’ny** . **mkl** . **hš**<sup>974</sup> **lkn** . **wky** . **hr’ny** . **bkl** . **śn’y** | ‘<sup>975</sup>**m**<sup>976</sup> [ ]<sup>977</sup>

<sup>969</sup> Rainey reads ‘ayin here (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 305), though based on his translation, this appears to be a typo.

<sup>970</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler (“Die zeitangaben Mesas,” 402); Halévy (“Supplément,” 522); Poebel (*Das appositionell*, 8); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 11); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 82); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 110); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha,” 93); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 227); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 61); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 305); *KAI* 181 (41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 7); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *yod*. This area of the inscription is damaged, and I can offer no definitive reading.

<sup>971</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>972</sup> Halévy reads a dot (word divider) here and not a vertical stroke (section divider) (“Supplément,” 522).

<sup>973</sup> Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 11); Auffret (“Essai,” 110); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *bet*. Clermont-Ganneau initially reads only *bet* (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I) and then reads “bm” (“La stèle de Méša, Examen critique du texte,” 88). Ward reads “wb” (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628). Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); and Winckler (“Die zeitangaben Mesas,” 402) read “bmš ‘ . m”. Halévy reads “bmsb . m” (“Supplément,” 522). Poebel (*Das appositionell*, 8); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 7) reads “bns”. Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 82); Gibson (I:16); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 94); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 228); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 305); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read “bm”. Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1) and E. Lipiński (“Etymological and Exegetical Notes on the Méša’ Inscription,” *Or* 40 [1971]: 328) read “bn”. *KAI* 181 reads “bns” (41). In 1991, Smelik reads only *bet* (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); however, he reads “bm” in 1992 (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 61). This area of the inscription is damaged, and I can offer no definitive reading.

<sup>974</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler (“Die zeitangaben Mesas,” 402); Auffret (“Essai,” 110); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 61); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 305); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *mem*. Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3) and Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62) restore *mem*. Cooke does not read this letter (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1). Andersen reads “m/š” (“Moabite Syntax,” 82).

<sup>975</sup> Nöldeke reads *qop* (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4). Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 3).

<sup>976</sup> This letter looks like a *pe*; however, based on the occurrence of ‘*mry*’ in line seven, it is likely that it is the remnant of the right side of a *mem*. Clermont-Ganneau initially reads *nun* (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I) but reconstructs *mem* (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 5). He eventually says he sees the traces of the head of *mem* (“La stèle de Méša, Examen,” 89). *The North British Review* reads nothing here (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6). Ginsburg draws *nun*; however he reads *mem* in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); and Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5) do not read this letter as certain but do restore it.

<sup>977</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler (“Die zeitangaben Mesas,” 402); Halévy (“Supplément,” 522); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 82); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 110); M. J. Dahood (“The Moabite Stone and Northwest Semitic Philology,” in *The Archaeology of Jordan and Other Studies. Presented to S. H. Horn* [L. T. Geraty and L. G. Herr, eds.; Berrien Spring, Mich.: Andrews Univ. Press, 1986], 431); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 94); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies*

5. y . mlk . yśr'l . wy'nw . 't . **m**<sup>978</sup> . b . ymn . rbn . ky . <sup>979</sup> t<sup>980,981</sup> np . kmš . **b**<sup>982,983</sup> [ ]<sup>984</sup>

6. šh | wyḥlph . bnh . wy'mr . gm . h' . 'nw . 't<sup>985</sup> m'b | bymy . 'mr . ?<sup>986</sup> [ ]<sup>987</sup>

in *Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); *KAI* (181, p.41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *resh*. Though Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read *resh* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I), he later states that he might see traces of the head of *resh* here ("La stèle de Méša, Examen," 89). There is no letter present on the reconstruction.

<sup>978</sup> This letter is likely *mem* based on the frequent occurrence of *m'b* throughout the text. However, it might also be *nun*.

<sup>979</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628) and Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) do not read this word divider and do not divide *ky* from the word that follows.

<sup>980</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 11); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 110); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); *KAI* (181, p.41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *yod*. Bennett restores *yod* (*The Moabite Stone*, 62). The letter on the reconstruction is *taw*.

<sup>981</sup> This letter appears to be a plus-shaped *taw*; however, every other occurrence of *taw* in this inscription is x-shaped. Therefore, it is likely that this is the remnant of the letter '*alep*.'

<sup>982</sup> This letter might also be a *resh*; however, because its vertical shaft does not extend further, I believe it is a *bet* and that its foot has been damaged.

<sup>983</sup> Clermont-Ganneau initially reads *bet* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185) but then *resh* (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I). Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 3).

<sup>984</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 82); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 110); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); *KAI* 181 (41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *resh*. There is no letter present on the reconstruction.

<sup>985</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, there is no word divider on the reconstruction.

<sup>986</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 11); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); A. S. Yahuda ("The Story of a Forgery and the Méša Inscription," *JQR* 35 [1944]: 159); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 82); Gibson (I:16); Lipiński ("Etymological and Exegetical Notes," 329); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *kap*. Halévy reads *nun* ("Supplément," 522). Smelik reads nothing in 1991 ("Kemosh was Angry," 32) but reads *kap* in 1992 ("King Mesha's Inscription," 61). This letter might be *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, or *pe*.

<sup>987</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); and Yahuda ("The Story of a Forgery," 159) read "dbr" in this space. Amandus Nordlander reads "db" (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Halévy reads '*alep*' ("Supplément," 522). There are no letters present on the reconstruction.

7. w'r' . bh . wbbth | wysrl . 'bd<sup>988 989</sup> 'bd . 'lm . wyrš . 'mry . 't<sup>991</sup> . 992 993 [ ]<sup>994</sup>
8. š<sup>995</sup> . 996 mh<sup>997</sup> db<sup>998</sup> | 999 wyšb . bh . ymd<sup>1000</sup> . whšy . ymy<sup>1001</sup> . bnh<sup>1002</sup> . 'rb'n<sup>1003</sup> št<sup>1004</sup>

<sup>988</sup> The previous two letters that I have transliterated "bd" may each be either a *bet*, *dalet*, or *resh*. However, based on the occurrence of 'bd just after, I believe "bd" is the best reading.

<sup>989</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>990</sup> Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 3).

<sup>991</sup> Rainey does not read " 't " ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305).

<sup>992</sup> Ginsburg does not represent the word divider in his drawing; however, he reads it in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); and Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) do not read the word divider. It is there on the reconstruction.

<sup>993</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6); and Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) read nothing. Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 11); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) do not read the 'alep as certain, though they restore it. Ginsburg does not represent the 'alep in his drawing; however, he reads it in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Auffret ("Essai," 114); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read *kap*. Löwy does not read this letter as certain but reconstructs *kap* (*A Critical Examination*, 3). An 'alep is present on the reconstruction.

<sup>994</sup> Ginsburg does not represent this letter in his drawing; however, he reads *resh* in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); and E. Easterly ("Tower' or 'Towers' in the Mesha Inscription?" *MAARAV* 9 [2002]: 9) read *resh*. Smend and Socin read "l r" in this space (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Lidzbarski reads "l'" (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I). Halévy reads "l . r'" ("Supplément," 522). Smelik reads "l'" in 1991 ("Kemosh was Angry," 32) and "l . '" in 1992 ("King Mesha's Inscription," 61). There are no letters present on the reconstruction.

<sup>995</sup> Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6) read 'ayin.

<sup>996</sup> Ginsburg does not read the word divider (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). It is there.

<sup>997</sup> Clermont-Ganneau does not read a word divider here in his first edition of the text ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185), though he reads one in his second (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I; cf. 31). *The North British Review* reads a word divider here ("The Moabite Inscription," 6). I see no word divider here and read "mhdb'" as one word.

<sup>998</sup> Gibson reads *he* (I:16).

<sup>999</sup> Ginsburg draws a dot versus a vertical line in his drawing; however, he draws a vertical line in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6) read a dot (word divider) here.

<sup>1000</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 11); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Yahuda ("The Story of a Forgery," 159); B. Bonder ("Mesha's Rebellion against Israel," *JANES* 3 [1970]: 84); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 114); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Easterly ("Tower' or 'Towers," 9); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305); *KAI* 181 (41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and



9. **bh . k**<sup>1005</sup> mš . by**m**<sup>1006</sup> y | w'bn . 't . b'lm'n <sup>1007</sup> w'š . **bh .**<sup>1008</sup> h'šwḥ<sup>1009</sup> . w'b<sup>1010</sup> [ ]<sup>1011</sup>

10. 't<sup>1012</sup> qrytn | w'š . gd . yšb<sup>1013</sup> . b'rš . 'rt<sup>1014</sup><sup>1015</sup> . m'lm . wybn . lh .<sup>1016</sup> mlk<sup>1017</sup> [ ]<sup>1018</sup>

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Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *he*. Bennett restores *he* (*The Moabite Stone*, 62). Clermont-Ganneau says that *he* is not impossible but he prefers *dalet* ("La stèle de Méša, Examen," 91-93). There is a *dalet* on the reconstruction.

<sup>1001</sup> In this area of the line, Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 365; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read "bh [ ] ymy".

<sup>1002</sup> In this area of the line, Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6) read "bh [ ] bnh". Löwy reads "bh . [ ] . 'rb'n" (*A Critical Examination*, 3).

<sup>1003</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1004</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Winckler ("Die zeitangaben Mesas," 402); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 3); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read ". wyš" in this space. P. D. Miller ("A Note on the Meša' Inscription," *Or* 38 [1969]: 4611-64); Auffret ("Essai," 114); B. Margalit ("Studies in NWSemitic Inscriptions," *UF* 26 [1994]: 273); Easterly ("Tower' or 'Towers," 9); and J. Kaplan ("The Mesha Inscription and Iron Age II Water Systems," *JNES* 69 [2010]: 26) read "wyš". Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read ". w". Rainey reads ". wy" ("Mesha' and Syntax," 305). There are no letters present on the reconstruction.

<sup>1005</sup> Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1006</sup> This area is quite damaged. I think that I can see the traces of *mem* here, but this letter might also be *nun*.

<sup>1007</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1008</sup> Clermont-Ganneau initially reads a vertical line (section divider) instead of a dot (word divider) ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185), but later reads a dot (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I). Nöldeke reads a vertical line (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1009</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628) and Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) do not read this word.

<sup>1010</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *bet*. Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); and Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11) do not read the *bet* as certain, though they reconstruct it. The *bet* is there.

<sup>1011</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 11); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *nun* here. The traces cannot be read definitively as *nun*.

<sup>1012</sup> Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); and Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1013</sup> Neither Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628) nor Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) read this word, though Nöldeke restores it.

<sup>1014</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*,

11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Auffret ("Essai," 116); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Rainey ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," *IEJ* 48 [1998]: 244; "Mesha' and Syntax," 306); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *ṭet* between the 'ayin and *resh*. There is none present on the reconstruction.

<sup>1015</sup> Clermont-Ganneau restores this word as "ṭrt", because it occurs in line 11. He says the final *taw* of the word is seen on the squeeze ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 382; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I). Ginsburg reads only the final *taw* in this word (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Ward does not read this word at all. He restores "qrytn" ("Inscription of Mesha," 628). Nöldeke reads nothing here (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1016</sup> Ginsburg does not represent the word divider in his drawing; however, he reads it in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II).

<sup>1017</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *kap*. It is present on the reconstruction.

<sup>1018</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 116); A. F. L. Beeston ("Mesha and Ataroth," *JRAS* 2 [1985]: 143); Dahood ("The Moabite Stone," 432); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 228); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 61); Rainey ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," 244; "Mesha' and Syntax," 306); *KAI* 181 (41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read ". y". There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1019</sup> Clermont-Ganneau initially reads "ṭrt" on the squeeze and proposes the reading "ṭrt" ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 381; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, 33, Pl. I). He eventually suggests that traces of the *ṭet* may be seen ("La stèle de Méša, Examen," 94). Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) and Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4) do not read this letter as certain but do restore it.

<sup>1020</sup> Gibson reads the final *taw* as a *ṭet* (I:16). Ginsburg reads only the final *taw* in this word (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Ward does not read this word at all. He restores "qrytn" ("Inscription of Mesha," 628). Nöldeke reads nothing here (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4). *The North British Review* does not read this word but restores "ḥqr" ("The Moabite Inscription," 6).

<sup>1021</sup> Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1022</sup> This letter might also be a *resh*; however, *gimel* best fits the context.

<sup>1023</sup> Beeston does not read "ṭ" ("Mesha and Ataroth," 143).

<sup>1024</sup> Ginsburg reads *gimel* (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). At the end of this line, Clermont-Ganneau initially reads either "ṭkl . h" or "ṭ klh" but then proposes to read the final letter as *gimel* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 381, 383; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, 33, Pl. I). He eventually settles on reading the final letter as *he* ("La stèle de Méša, Examen," 94-95). *The North British Review* does not read *he*; it restores *yod* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6). Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1025</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I), and Halévy ("Supplément," 522) read "m . m". Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); and Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 229) read 'ayin. LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Auffret ("Essai," 116); Beeston ("Mesha and Ataroth," 143); and Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94) read "m". Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 12); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); *KAI* 181 (41) and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8) read "m .". In 1987, Lemaire reads "m ." ("Notes d'épigraphie," 206) and reads "m" in 1994 ("House of David," 35). In 1991, Smelik reads "m ." ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); however in 1992, he reads "m . m" ("King



12. **h**<sup>1026</sup>**qr** . **r**<sup>1027</sup>**yt** . **lkmš** . wlm'b | w'sb . mšm . 't<sup>1028</sup> . 'r'l . dwdh .<sup>1029</sup> w'<sup>1030</sup>[ ]<sup>1031</sup>

13. **hb**<sup>1032</sup>**h** . **lpny** . **kmš** . **bqryt** | w'sb . bh . 't . 'š . šrn . w't . '[ ]<sup>1033</sup>

14. **m**<sup>1034</sup>**hrt** | **wy'mr** . **ly** . **kmš** . **lk** . 'hz . 't . nbh . 'l . ysr'l |<sup>1035</sup> [ ]<sup>1036</sup>

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Mesha's Inscription," 61). In 1998, Rainey reads "m" ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," 244) and reads "m ." in 2001 ("Mesha' and Syntax," 306). K. C. Park reads "tp" ("Ende Zeile 11 der Mesha-Inschrift: Vorschlag einer neuen Lesung," *KUSATU* 10 [2009]: 161-72). There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1026</sup> Clermont-Ganneau initially does not read this letter ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185) but then reads *he* (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I). Ward reads *bet* ("Inscription of Mesha," 628). Nöldeke does not read the *he*; he restores *bet* (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4). Löwy does not read *he* as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1027</sup> Lemaire ("Notes d'épigraphie," 206; "House of David," 35; "New Photographs and 'ryt' or 'hyt,'" 204-07); Rainey ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," 244; "Mesha' and Syntax," 306); Park ("Ende Zeile 11 der Mesha-Inschrift," 161); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and H. S. An ("Some Additional Epigraphic Comments on the Mesha Stele: The Case for Reading *hyt* in Line 12," *MAARAV* 17.2 [2010]: 149-72) read *he*. The 2002 edition of *KAI* 181 reads *he* (41); however, the 1964 edition reads *resh* (33). Cf. A. Schade, "New Photographs Supporting the Reading *ryt* in Line 12 of the Mesha Inscription," *IEJ* 55 (2005): 205-08.

<sup>1028</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628) and Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) read nothing past this word.

<sup>1029</sup> *The North British Review* does not read the "r'l . dwd ." ("The Moabite Inscription," 6).

<sup>1030</sup> In this area of the line: Clermont-Ganneau initially reads nothing past the "t" ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185); however, he comes to read the "w'" at the end of the line (cf. *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I). Ginsburg reads "t . [ ] w' [ ]"; he does not represent the second 'alep in his drawing (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II).

<sup>1031</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *samek*. There is no letter present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1032</sup> Clermont-Ganneau initially ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185); Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); and Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) do not read the *het* or *bet*. They are certainly there. Clermont-Ganneau later (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read a word divider between the *bet* and *he*. I see no word divider here.

<sup>1033</sup> Smend and Socin read "nšy" (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Lidzbarski reads "nš" (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I). Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa'*, 12); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Auffret ("Essai," 116); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); *KAI* 181 (41); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *shin*. Margalit ("Studies," 273) and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 8) read "š .". Rainey reads *shin* in 1998 ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," 244) but only restores it in 2001 ("Mesha' and Syntax," 306). Ahituv reads *shin* in his transliteration but has "š" in his drawing (*Echoes*, 391-93). There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1034</sup> Nöldeke reads *shin* (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1035</sup> Sidersky reads a dot (word divider) here and not a vertical stroke (section divider) (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11).

<sup>1036</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 522); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa'*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Dahood ("The Moabite Stone," 434); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 117); Margalit ("Studies," 273); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 229); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 306); *KAI* (181, p.41); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi)

15. **hlk . blh . w'ltm**<sup>1037</sup> . **bh . m?**<sup>1038</sup> **q**<sup>1039</sup> . **hšhrt**<sup>1039</sup> . **d . h**<sup>1040</sup> **šhrm | w' |**<sup>1041</sup>

16. <sup>1042</sup>**z**<sup>1043</sup> **h . w'h | ]??**<sup>1044</sup> . **šb't . 'lp**<sup>1045</sup> <sup>1046</sup>**?**<sup>1047</sup> **]**<sup>1048</sup> **?? d**<sup>1047</sup> **|**<sup>1048</sup> **wgbrt . w?**<sup>1049</sup>

read “w’”. Cf. Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Méša, Examen,” 96). Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); and Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62) read *waw*. There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1037</sup> Rainey reads *nun* (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306), though based on his translation, this is likely a typo.

<sup>1038</sup> Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read *resh*. Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 522); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Auffret (“Essai,” 117); Dahood (“The Moabite Stone,” 434); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 94); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 229); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *bet*. Clermont-Ganneau initially reads *resh* (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I) but later reads *bet* (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations et lectures nouvelles,” *Revue critique d’histoire et de littérature* 9.37 [1875]: 171). Only the lower right corner of this letter remains. It might be either a *bet*, *dalet*, *tet*, *lamed*, or *‘ayin*.

<sup>1039</sup> Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628) and Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) read *he*.

<sup>1040</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *he*. It is there.

<sup>1041</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 522); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 117); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 94); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 229); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *het*. There is no letter present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1042</sup> Ginsburg reads a *het* here (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). I see none.

<sup>1043</sup> Ward does not read anything definitive before the following *he*; he restores “h̄rm” (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628). Nöldeke does not read the *zayin* (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1044</sup> This letter is either *lamed* or *‘ayin*.

In the area between “w’h” and “šb’t”: Clermont-Ganneau reads “rg klh” (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, 35; cf. *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I). (Note that Clermont-Ganneau reads nothing in the line before he reads “rg”.) Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Halévy (“Supplément,” 522); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read “rg . klh”. Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12) and Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I) read “rg . klm”. Amandus Nordlander reads “rg . klh” in his transliteration and “rg . kl” in his drawing (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 117); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 94); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 229); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read “rg . kl”. In 1987, Lemaire reads “rg . klh” (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 206) and reads “rg . kl” in 1994 (“House of David,” 35). The area in question is damaged and does not permit a definitive reading.

At the end of line 16, Löwy reads “’lp . m[gbrn] [wmbnn] | [wgbt] [wbn]” (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1045</sup> Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); and Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11) do not read this letter, though they restore it.

17. t . w<sup>1050</sup> r<sup>1051</sup> h<sup>1052</sup> mt |<sup>1053</sup> ky<sup>1054</sup> . l'štr . kmš . hḥrmth |<sup>1055</sup> w'qh . mšm [ ]<sup>1056</sup>

<sup>1046</sup> After “’lpn”: Clermont-Ganneau reads on the “gbrt” at the end of the line (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 384; but cf. *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5—where reads nothing after “’lpn”). Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4) and *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6) read nothing after this. Ginsburg reads “. [ ] gbr”. He reads a word divider before the *gimel* in his transliteration but does not represent this in his drawing (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II).

<sup>1047</sup> While Lidzbarski only indicates this letter with a dash in his transliteration (see the following note), he draws what might be the head of a *bet* or *resh* in his illustration (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I).

<sup>1048</sup> In the area between “’lpn” and “wgbrt”: Smend and Socin read “. mgbn . wmbnn |” (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); and LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523) read “. gbm . wgrn |”. Lidzbarski reads “gbrn . w--n |” (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I). Halévy reads “. gbm . wgrn .” (“Supplément,” 522). Cooke reads “. g[b]rn . w--n |” (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1). Bennett reads “. gbr[n] . w - - n |” (*The Moabite Stone*, 62). Compston reads (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12) and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9) “. g[b]rn . wgrn |”. Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); and Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 229) read “g[b]rn . w[gr]n |”. Andersen reads “gbrn . w[g]m |” (“Moabite Syntax,” 83). Auffret reads “g[b]m wgrn” (“Essai,” 117). Margalit reads “gbrn . w[g]m .” (“Studies,” 273). Lemaire reads “g[b]m . wgrn |” in 1987 (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 207) and reads “. gbrn . wgrn |” in 1994 (“House of David,” 35). Jackson and Dearman read “g[b]m . w[g]m |” (“Text of Mesha,” 94). Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman reads “gbrn . w[ ]m” (*Studies in Mesha*, 307). In 1991, Smelik reads “. gbm . wgrn |” (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); he does not read the first word divider as certain in 1992 (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62). Rainey reads “. gbm . wdrn |” (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306). The 2002 edition of *KAI* 181 reads “. [.] g[b]m . wgrn .” (41); however, the 1964 edition reads that first word divider as certain (33). Ahituv reads “gbrn . gbrn |” (*Echoes*, 391-93). Driver reads “. gbm . w--n |” (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi).

<sup>1049</sup> Smend and Socin read “bn” here (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Amandus Nordlander reads “gr” in his transliteration but nothing definitive in his drawing (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Halévy (“Supplément,” 522) and Margalit (“Studies,” 273) read “gr”. Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read *gimel*. In 1987, Lemaire reads “g” (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 207) but nothing definitive in 1994 (“House of David,” 35). The 2002 edition of *KAI* 181 reads *gimel* (41); however, the 1964 edition does not read *gimel* as certain but only restores it (33). Neither of these letters is present on the reconstruction.

<sup>1050</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *waw*. It is there.

<sup>1051</sup> *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *resh*. It is there.

<sup>1052</sup> Ward does not read anything definitive before the following “mt” (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628).

<sup>1053</sup> Initially, Clermont-Ganneau reads nothing here (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185). He eventually reads a dot (word divider) (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I) and then a vertical section divider (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations” 171). Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628) and *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6) do not read this section divider. It is there.

<sup>1054</sup> Nöldeke reads nothing in this line before the “ky” (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1055</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 6); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *taw*, *he*, or section divider. Löwy does not read the *taw* or *he* as certain but does restore them (*A Critical Examination*, 4). The *taw*, *he*, and section divider are there.

<sup>1056</sup> Ginsburg reads a word divider here (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 522); Lemaire (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 208-09; “House of David,” 35); and Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306) read “. ’ r ”. Amandus Nordlander reads “. ’ r ” in his transliteration, but in his drawing there is no complete *resh*, only a vertical shaft (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 62); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11);

18. ly<sup>1057</sup> . yhw<sup>h</sup> . w'sh<sup>1058</sup> b .<sup>1059</sup> hm . lpny<sup>1060</sup> . kmš | w<sup>m</sup><sup>1061</sup> lk . ysr' l . bn[ ]<sup>1062</sup>

19. yhš . w<sup>1063</sup> yšb . bh . bhlthmh . by | wy<sup>g</sup><sup>1064</sup> šh . kmš . m[ ]<sup>1065</sup>

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Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 117); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read ". ' ". There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1057</sup> Nöldeke reads *waw* (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1058</sup> Ward does not read "sh," he reads "qr" ("Inscription of Mesha," 628).

<sup>1059</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); and Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4) read this as a *yod*, and read the resultant "w'shbyhm" as one word. Nöldeke does not read the " 'shb. " (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4).

<sup>1060</sup> Dahood does not read the *yod* ("The Moabite Stone," 435).

<sup>1061</sup> This letter is likely a *mem* based on the context of the sentence as well as on the frequent occurrence of *mlk* throughout the text; however, it might also be a *nun*.

<sup>1062</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 118); Miller ("The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stele," 17); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); and *KAI* 181 (41) read "h 't". Halévy ("Supplément," 523); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 94); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read "h . 't". Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9) read "h . 't . ". Bennett reads "h . 't . " (*The Moabite Stone*, 63). In 1991, Smelik reads "h 't" ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); however, he does not read the final " 't " as certain but only restores them in 1992 ("King Mesha's Inscription," 62). Rainey reads "h ['t] . " ("Mesha' and Syntax," 306). There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1063</sup> Ward reads *yod* ("Inscription of Mesha," 628)

<sup>1064</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Yahuda ("The Story of a Forgery," 159); Auffret ("Essai," 118); Miller ("The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stele," 17); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); A. Demsky ("King Mesha Takes A Census" *ErIsr* 26 [1999]: 43-44, 228-29 [Hebrew]); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 306); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *resh*. This letter is either *dalet* or a *resh*.

<sup>1065</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 5, Pl. I); "La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 171); Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 4); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 6); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); and Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4) read *pe*. Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 306); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read "pny w". Halévy reads "pny . w" ("Supplément," 523). Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 12); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read "pn". Yahuda reads " 'ny . " ("The Story of a Forgery," 159). Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 118); Miller ("The Moabite Stone as a Memorial Stele," 17); and *KAI* 181, p.41) read "pny". Jackson and Dearman read "pny |" ("Text of Mesha'," 95). Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230) and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9) read "pny . " Drinkard's illustration in Dearman reads "pnyw" (*Studies in Mesha*, 307). Dahood reads a *waw* at the end of the line ("The Moabite Stone," 436); cf. Easterly ("Tower' or 'Towers,'" 13). In 1991, Smelik

20. 'qh . mm'b . m'tn . 'š . kl . ršh | w's'h . byḥš . w'hzh .<sup>1066</sup>
21. lsp<sup>1067</sup>t . 'l . dybn | 'nk . bnty . qrḥh . ḥmt . hy'rm<sup>1068</sup> . wḥm[ ]<sup>1069</sup>
22. h'pl<sup>1070</sup> | w'nk . bnty . š'ry<sup>1071</sup>h . w'nk . bnty<sup>1072</sup> mgdlth | w'
23. nk . bnt<sup>1073</sup>y . bt . mlk .<sup>1074</sup> w'nk . 'šty . kl<sup>1075</sup>y . h's[<sup>1076</sup> <sup>1077</sup>]y<sup>1078</sup>n<sup>1079</sup>bq<sup>1080</sup>[ ]<sup>1081</sup>

reads “pny w” (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); however, in 1992 he does not read the final *waw* as certain but only restores it (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62). There are no definitive letters present here on the reconstruction, only traces or scratches.

<sup>1066</sup> Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read a vertical line (section divider) here. Clermont-Ganneau initially reads a vertical line (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I) but then reads a dot (word divider) (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 171). It is a word divider.

<sup>1067</sup> Nöldeke does not read the “sp” (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5).

<sup>1068</sup> Clermont-Ganneau reads *nun* in his transliterations (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6) but reads *mem* in his notes on and drawing of this line (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 371; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 38, Pl. I). He gives no explanation for the different readings. Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 120); Margalit (“Studies,” 272); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha,” 95); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 230); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); H. Eshel (“Two Epigraphic Notes,” *ZAH* 13 [2000]: 181); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306); *KAI* 181 (41); and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read *nun*. It is *mem* on the reconstruction.

<sup>1069</sup> *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 7); Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 120); Margalit (“Studies,” 272); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha,” 95); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 230); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); Eshel (“Two Epigraphic Notes,” 181); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 306); *KAI* 181 (41); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha,” lxxxvi) read *taw*. Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11) and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9) read “t.”. There is nothing present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1070</sup> Clermont-Ganneau initially does not read the “pl” (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185), though he comes to (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I) but says the *lamed* is not certain (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 172). Nöldeke does not read the “pl” (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5).

<sup>1071</sup> Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read a word divider here (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I), but he comes to (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 172). There is no word divider here.

<sup>1072</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1073</sup> Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read a word divider here (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I), but he comes to (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 172). There is no word divider here.

<sup>1074</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) have a vertical line (section divider) in their transliterations, though they have a dot (word divider) in their drawings. It is a dot.

<sup>1075</sup> Yahuda does not read the *lamed* (“The Story of a Forgery,” 159).

<sup>1076</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 120); Lipiński ("Etymological and Exegetical Notes," 335-36); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); *KAI* 181 (41); Kaplan ("The Mesha Inscription," 26); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9) read *waw*. Aḥituv does not read *waw* as certain in his transliteration, though he does in his drawing (*Echoes*, 391-93). Cf. Z. Kallai, "Note on J. A. Emerton: Lines 25-26 of the Moabite Stone and a Recently-Discovered Inscription," *VT* 56 (2006): 552-53. The area is damaged, and no letter can be read with certainty.

<sup>1077</sup> Amandus Nordlander reads ". l'" (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Lemaire ("House of David," 35) and Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307) read *mem*.

<sup>1078</sup> *The North British Review* reads *yod* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7).

<sup>1079</sup> Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read a word divider here ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185), though he comes to (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I). Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); *KAI* (181, p.41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read a word divider here. There is no word divider on the reconstruction.

<sup>1080</sup> Löwy does not read "bq" as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1081</sup> Ginsburg has a vertical stroke here in his drawing; however, he has nothing in his transliteration (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Though Clermont-Ganneau initially reads nothing here ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I), he comes to read *resh* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 372). Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 13); Yahuda ("The Story of a Forgery," 159); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read "rb". LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 120); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 95); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); *KAI* (181, p.41); Kaplan ("The Mesha Inscription," 26); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9) read *resh*. There are no definitive letters present here on the reconstruction, only traces or scratches.

<sup>1082</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7) do not read the *he* as certain, though they restore it. Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read the *he* as certain ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 372; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, 39, Pl. I), though he comes ("La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 172).

<sup>1083</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1084</sup> Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read *lamed* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I), though he seems to eventually do so (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 6). However, he later makes it clear that this letter cannot be seen for certain on the squeeze ("La stèle de Méša, Examen," 104). Ginsburg reads *lamed* in his transliteration, but he does not represent *lamed* in his drawing (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša'*, 13); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); "King Mesha's Inscription," 62); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Eshel ("Two Epigraphic Notes," 181); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read a *lamed*. There are faint



25. k<sup>1085</sup> m .<sup>1086</sup> 'š. br . b<sup>1087</sup> byt<sup>1088</sup> h | w'nk . krt<sup>1089</sup> y . hmkrtt . lqrh<sup>1090</sup> h . b<sup>1091</sup> ?<sup>1092</sup> ?<sup>1093</sup>

26. ?<sup>1094</sup> ysr'l | 'nk . bnty . r<sup>1095</sup> r<sup>1096</sup> r . w<sup>1097</sup> nk . 'šyt . hmslt . b'rn<sup>1098</sup> ]

traces at the end of the line, but I cannot definitively identify a *lamed* in this space. The traces might also simply be surface scratches.

<sup>1085</sup> Ward does not read *kap* as certain, though he restores it (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628).

<sup>1086</sup> Nöldeke does not read the “km.” (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5).

<sup>1087</sup> Clermont-Ganneau suggests there might be a word divider here (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 172). There is no word divider here.

<sup>1088</sup> Rainey reads *nun* (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 307), though based on his translation, this is likely a typo.

<sup>1089</sup> Clermont-Ganneau suggests there might be a word divider here (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 172). There is no word divider here.

<sup>1090</sup> Ward reads *he* (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628).

<sup>1091</sup> Löwy reads *mem* (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1092</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Mésa, Examen,” 104); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Mésa,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Dahood (“The Moabite Stone,” 436); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 120); Lipiński (“Etymological and Exegetical Notes,” 336); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 230); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); Eshel (“Two Epigraphic Notes,” 181); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 307); *KAI* 181 (41); J. A. Emerton (“Lines 25-6 of the Moabite Stone and a Recently-Discovered Inscription,” *VT* 60 [2005]: 294); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi); and B. Routledge (“On Water Management in the Mesha Inscription and Moab,” *JNES* 72 [2013]: 53) read *samek*. The area is damaged, and I can read no letter with certainty.

<sup>1093</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Mésa, Examen,” 104); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Mésa,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Dahood (“The Moabite Stone,” 436); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 120); Lipiński (“Etymological and Exegetical Notes,” 336); Lemaire (“House of David,” 35); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 230); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62); Eshel (“Two Epigraphic Notes,” 181); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 307); *KAI* 181 (41); Emerton (“Lines 25-6,” 294); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi); and Routledge (“On Water Management in the Mesha Inscription and Moab,” 53) read *resh*. This letter is either an *alep*, *qop*, or *resh*.

<sup>1094</sup> *The North British Review* reads a word divider (“The Moabite Inscription,” 7). Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) and Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) do not read anything at the beginning of this line. Smend and Soccin read “n . m” (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Mésa,” 523); Dahood (“The Moabite Stone,” 432); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Lipiński (“Etymological and Exegetical Notes,” 336); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 230); Emerton (“Lines 25-6,” 294); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read *yod*. Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 120); and *KAI* 181 (41) read *yod*. Löwy reads “ . m ” (*A Critical Examination*, 4). Cf. Routledge, “On Water Management in the Mesha Inscription and Moab,” 53. In 1991, Smelik reads *yod* (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); however, in 1992, he reads *nun* (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 62). There are traces of a letter here, and this letter appears to be either *mem* or *shin*.

<sup>1095</sup> This letter might also be a *lamed*, though reading *‘ayin* provides the best translation.

27. <sup>1099</sup> n <sup>1100</sup> k <sup>1101</sup> . bnty . bt . bmt . ky . hrs . h' | 'nk . bnty . bšr . ky . 'y<sup>1102</sup>

28. [ ? <sup>1103</sup> 1104 ? <sup>1105</sup> ] š . d <sup>1106</sup> ybn . ḥmšn . ky . kl . dybn . mšm't | w'nk <sup>1107</sup> ml [ ] <sup>1108</sup>

<sup>1096</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 373; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, 40, Pl. I) and Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4) do not read "r" as certain but do reconstruct them.

<sup>1097</sup> Rainey does not read this *waw* ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307), though based on his translation, this is likely a typo.

<sup>1098</sup> In his notes on this line, Clermont-Ganneau makes it clear that he reconstructs this *nun* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 373; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 40; "La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 172), though it appears that he reads it for certain in his transliteration and drawing ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I). Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11); Dahood ("The Moabite Stone," 437); Auffret ("Essai," 120); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha' ," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); and N. L. Tidwell ("Mesha's 'hmslt b'rnn': What and Where?" *VT* 46 [1999]: 490-97; "A Further Note on Mesha's hmslt b'rnn," *VT* 49 [1999]: 132-34) read a *nun* here. Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); and Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I) read "n w". Halévy reads "n . w" ("Supplément," 523). LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523) and Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307) read "n |". Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa* , 13); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 9); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha' ," lxxxvi) read "n .". Gibson (I:16) and Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230) reads "n [|] w". In 1991, Smelik reads "n ." ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); however, 1992, he reads "n[|]" ("King Mesha's Inscription," 62). There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1099</sup> This letter is likely an '*alep* based on the context of the sentence as well as on the frequent occurrence of '*nk* throughout the text; however, it might also be a *resh*.

<sup>1100</sup> Ginsburg reads neither the '*alep* nor the *nun* (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5) and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7) do not read the '*alep* or *nun*, though they restore them. Clermont-Ganneau initially does not read these letters ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I) though he comes to ("La stèle de Dhiban," 373).

<sup>1101</sup> Löwy does not read *kap* as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1102</sup> Löwy does not read "y" as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4). *The North British Review* does not read the *yod* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7). Ward reads *zayin* instead of *yod* ("Inscription of Mesha," 628). Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read *šade* instead of *yod*. Clermont-Ganneau initially does not read *yod* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I) though he comes to ("La stèle de Dhiban," 374). *Yod* is present on the reconstruction.

Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); Dahood ("The Moabite Stone," 438); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 120); Lipiński ("Etymological and Exegetical Notes," 339); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha' ," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha' ," lxxxvi) read *nun* after the *yod*. Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa* , 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); and *KAI* 181 (41) read "n .". In 1991, Smelik reads "n |" ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); however, in 1992, he reads "n ." ("King Mesha's Inscription," 62). There is no letter present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1103</sup> There are traces of what might be a *mem* or a *shin* here, but this is not certain. Clermont-Ganneau initially does not read anything here ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I) though he comes to read *taw* (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 6). Rainey reads '*alep* ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307).

<sup>1104</sup> Gibson (I:16); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha' ," 95); and Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 230) read *bet* here. The 2002 edition of *KAI* 181 reads *bet* (41); however, the 1964 edition does not read *bet* as certain but only restores it (33). Ahituv reads *bet* in his transliteration, though he does not represent it in his drawing (*Echoes*, 391-93).



29. <sup>1109</sup>t<sup>1110</sup> [ <sup>1111</sup>m<sup>1112</sup> <sup>1113</sup>t . bqrn<sup>1113</sup> . 'šr . yspty . 'l . h'rš | w'nk<sup>1114</sup> . b<sup>1115</sup>n<sup>1116</sup> [ ]<sup>1117</sup>
30. y . [ <sup>1118</sup> . <sup>1119</sup>wbt . <sup>1120</sup>d<sup>1121</sup>bltn | <sup>1121</sup>wbt . b'lm'n . w's' . šm . 't . <sup>1122</sup>m<sup>1123</sup> [ ]<sup>1124</sup>

<sup>1105</sup> Clermont-Ganneau suggests 'alep or yod ("La stèle de Mésa. Observations," 172). Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I) and Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I) read *resh*. LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523) and Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307) read 'alep. The 2002 edition of *KAI* 181 reads 'alep (41); however, the 1964 edition does not read 'alep as certain but only restores it (33). Ahituv reads 'alep in his transliteration, though he does not represent it in his drawing (*Echoes*, 391-93). Lemaire says the traces of the third and fourth letters in this line suggest reading "b'" ("Notes d'épigraphie," 209). In this area before the *shin*, Gass reads ". w'" (*Die Moabiter*, 10).

<sup>1106</sup> The 1964 edition of *KAI* 181 reads *bet* (33); however, the 2002 edition reads *dalet* (41).

<sup>1107</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1108</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa*, 13); Yahuda ("The Story of a Forgery," 159); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Dahood ("The Moabite Stone," 438); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 120); Lipiński ("Etymological and Exegetical Notes," 339); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Margalit ("Studies," 275); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 231); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 63); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); *KAI* 181 (41); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *kap*. LaGrange reads 'alep ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523). There is no letter present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1109</sup> This letter is likely a *taw*, but it might also be the remains of an 'alep. Clermont-Ganneau initially reads nothing here ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I), though he comes to read "y." (*La stèle de Dhiban*, 6; "La stèle de Mésa, Examen," 106). Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628) and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read nothing here. Smend and Soccin read "ty" (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Löwy does not read *taw* as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1110</sup> Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa*, 13) and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *yod* here. Ahituv reads a *lamed* in this area (*Echoes*, 391-93).

<sup>1111</sup> Lemaire says the traces of the fourth letter in this line suggest reading *lamed* ("Notes d'épigraphie," 209).

<sup>1112</sup> Ward reads *shin* ("Inscription of Mesha," 628). Löwy does not read *mem* as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4). Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5) and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7) read nothing before the following "t".

<sup>1113</sup> Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1114</sup> Rainey reads *šade* ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307), though based on his translation, this is likely a typo.

<sup>1115</sup> Löwy reads *kap* (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1116</sup> Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1117</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Mésa*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Mésa*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret ("Essai," 120); Margalit ("Studies," 275); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 231); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 63); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); *KAI* 181 (42); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi) read *taw*. There is no letter present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1118</sup> Before the 'alep, Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); and Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) read *dalet*. LaGrange ("L'inscription de Mésa," 523) and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read "db". Halévy reads

31. [ <sup>1125</sup> ] § <sup>1126,1127</sup> n . <sup>1128</sup> h'rš <sup>1129</sup> | wḥwrnn . yšb . bh . ? <sup>1130</sup> [ <sup>1131</sup> ] w <sup>1132</sup> d <sup>1133</sup> [ <sup>1134</sup> ]

“d[b]” (“Supplément,” 523). Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Auffret (“Essai,” 120); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 231); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 307); *KAI* 181 (42); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10) read *bet*. Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša’*, 13); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read “mhd[b]”. In 1987, Lemaire reads *bet* (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 209), though does not in 1994 (“House of David,” 35). In 1991, Smelik reads “db” (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32) but reads “d[b]” in 1992 (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 63).

<sup>1119</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 7); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read nothing before the following “wbt.”

<sup>1120</sup> In 1991, Smelik reads the *dalet* as certain (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32) but only reconstructs it in 1992 (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 63).

<sup>1121</sup> Sidersky does not read a dot (word divider); he reads a vertical line (section divider) (*La stèle de Méša*, 11).

<sup>1122</sup> Clermont-Ganneau reads this word divider in his transliterations and drawing but not in his later notes. He gives no explanation (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185, 375; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, 41, Pl. I).

<sup>1123</sup> Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša’*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 231); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 307); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *nun*. Löwy does not read this letter as certain but restores *nun* (*A Critical Examination*, 4). Lemaire reads *mem* in 1987 (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 210) and *nun* in 1994 (“House of David,” 35). In 1991, Smelik reads nothing here (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32); however, he reads *nun* in 1992 (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 63). This letter is *mem* on the reconstruction.

<sup>1124</sup> Clermont-Ganneau says *bet* or *resh* (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 172). Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša’*, 13); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); N. Na’aman (“King Mesha and the Foundation of the Moabite Monarchy,” *IEJ* 47 [1997]: 86); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read “qd” here. Halévy reads “d” (“Supplément,” 523), LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523) and Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11) read *qop*. Lemaire reads “qd” in 1987 (“Notes d’épigraphie,” 210) and nothing in 1994 (“House of David,” 35). Margalit reads *ṭet* (“Studies,” 275). The 1964 edition of *KAI* 181 reads ‘*ayin*’ (33); however, the 2002 edition reads “qd” (42). There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1125</sup> Clermont-Ganneau suggests *dalet* (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 173).

<sup>1126</sup> Löwy does not read this letter as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1127</sup> Ward reads neither the *ṣade* nor the ‘*alep*’ (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628).

<sup>1128</sup> Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 7); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) read nothing before the following “h’rš”. Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read the “š’n” (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); however, he comes to (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 173).

<sup>1129</sup> Auffret does not offer a transliteration past this point in the text (“Essai,” 109-24).

<sup>1130</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I; “La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 173); Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 7); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Soccin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša’*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Margalit (“Studies,” 275); Lemaire (“House of David,” 30-37; “La

dynastie davidique,” 17-19); Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 63); N. Na’aman (“The Campaign of Mesha against Horonaim,” *BN* 73 [1994]: 27; “King Mesha,” 89); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Drinkard’s illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 231); Rainey (“Syntax, Hermeneutics and History,” 249; “Following up on the Ekron and Mesha Inscriptions,” *IEJ* 50 [2000]: 117; “Mesha’ and Syntax,” 293, 306); *KAI* 181 (42); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *bet*. This letter is either a *bet* or a *resh*. After this letter, Ginsburg reads no other letters except the *waw* (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II).

<sup>1131</sup> Clermont-Ganneau reads a word divider here (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I). Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I) and Smelik (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32; “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 63) read *nun* here. Smend and Soccin also read *nun* followed by “. ddn .” (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Amandus Nordlander also reads *nun* followed by “y . h” (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Halévy reads *shin* (“Supplément,” 523). LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Margalit (“Studies,” 275); Lemaire (“House of David,” 30-37; “La dynastie davidique,” 17-19); Na’aman (“The Campaign of Mesha,” 27); Rainey (“Syntax, Hermeneutics and History,” 249; “Following up,” 117; “Mesha’ and Syntax,” 293, 306); *KAI* (181, p.42); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); and Ahituv (“The Mesha’ Inscription,” 391-93) read *taw*. Compston also reads *taw* followed by a word divider (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13).

<sup>1132</sup> Margalit reads *qop* (“Studies,” 275).

<sup>1133</sup> Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); and *The North British Review* (*Echoes*, 7) do not read this *dalet*. Clermont-Ganneau initially reads ‘alep (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 375; cf. *La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I), then suggests either *dalet* or *taw* (“La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 173). Amandus Nordlander reads *resh* (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). LaGrange reads nothing (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523). Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Gibson (I:16); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); and Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 231) read *qop*. The 1964 edition of *KAI* 181 reads *qop* (33); however, the 2002 edition reads *dalet* (42).

Lemaire has proposed to read “bt[d]wd,” that is “House of David,” at the end of this line (“House of David,” 30-37). As seen above, there are various possible readings for the letters in this space, and this reading is not certain. However, as I completed this chapter, I discovered a note by Lemaire, wherein he states that his reading of this part of the inscription is based partially on “a small squeeze (no.9) taken by Ch. Clermont-Ganneau before the restoration of the stèle in the Louvre Museum and kept now in the ‘Cabinet du Corpus’ (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, Paris)” (“West Semitic Inscriptions and Ninth-Century BCE Ancient Israel,” in *Understanding the History of Ancient Israel* [H. G. M. Williamson, ed.; Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2007], 289). Admittedly, I have not seen this squeeze and hope to do so in the near future. Cf. the discussion above regarding the Mesha squeeze in the possession of the Louvre.

<sup>1134</sup> In this area: Smend and Soccin read “dn . ’mr” (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Amandus Nordlander reads “’šr” (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Lidzbarski reads “’mr” (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I). Halévy (“Supplément,” 523); LaGrange (“L’inscription de Méša,” 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen (“Moabite Syntax,” 83); Gibson (I:16); Na’aman (“The Campaign of Mesha,” 27); Jackson and Dearman (“Text of Mesha’,” 95); Margalit (“Studies,” 275); Niccacci (“The Stele of Mesha,” 231); Rainey (“Syntax, Hermeneutics and History,” 249; “Following up,” 117; “Mesha’ and Syntax,” 293, 306); and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read “’š”. Bennett reads ‘alep (*The Moabite Stone*, 63). Compston reads “. ’š” (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13). Lemaire reads “’m” (“House of David,” 35). In 1991, Smelik reads ‘alep (“Kemosh was Angry,” 32) and reads “. ’” in 1992 (“King Mesha’s Inscription,” 63). Driver reads “. ’mr” (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi). There is room for one letter after the *dalet* on the original stèle, but the area is damaged, and I can read nothing with certainty. There is nothing on the reconstruction after this.

At the end of line 31, Löwy reads “bh . b[n] . d[d]n . wr[d]n . ’[mr]” (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1135</sup> Clermont-Ganneau (“La stèle de Dhiban,” 375; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 41; “La stèle de Mesa. Observations,” 173; “La stèle de Méša, Examen,” 108) and Rainey (“Syntax, Hermeneutics and History,” 249; “Following up,” 117; “Mesha’ and Syntax,” 293, 306) reads “wy” just before “’mr” .

<sup>1136</sup> Ward (“Inscription of Mesha,” 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); and *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 7) do not read the ‘alep.

<sup>1137</sup> Nöldeke does not read the “rd”; he reads “[b]” (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5).

33. [ ]<sup>1140</sup> b<sup>1141</sup> h<sup>1142</sup> k<sup>1143</sup> mš . bymy . w'l [ ]<sup>1144</sup> dh<sup>1145</sup> . mšm .<sup>1146</sup> š |<sup>1147</sup> [ ]

<sup>1138</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *resh*. Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read the *resh* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I; "La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 174), though he comes to do so ("La stèle de Méša, Examen," 108). Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4) and Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63) do not read the *resh* as certain but do restore it. A portion of the letter *resh* remains on the original stèle and a portion on the reconstruction.

<sup>1139</sup> Smend and Socin read "d . w'lt" (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); Gibson (I:16); Lemaire ("House of David," 35); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 231); and Rainey ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," 249; "Following up," 117; "Mesha' and Syntax," 293, 306) read "d . w". Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Margalit ("Studies," 275); Na'aman ("The Campaign of Mesha," 27); KAI (181, p.42); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10) read *dalet*. LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha'," 95); and Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) read "d . ". In 1991, Smelik reads *dalet* ("Kemosh was Angry," 32) and reads "d . " in 1992 ("King Mesha's Inscription," 63). Ahituv reads *dalet* in his transliteration but has "d." in his drawing (*Echoes*, 391-93). There are no letters present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1140</sup> Smend and Socin read "yš" (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Halévy reads *shin* ("Supplément," 523).

<sup>1141</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read the *bet*. Clermont-Ganneau does not initially read the *bet* ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 375; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, 42, Pl. I), though he comes to ("La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 174). Löwy reads neither the *bet* nor the following *he* as certain but does restore them (*A Critical Examination*, 4). Both *bet* and *he* are present on the reconstruction.

<sup>1142</sup> Various scholars read a word divider here; however, the area is damaged, and no word divider can be seen.

<sup>1143</sup> This letter is likely *kap* based on the frequent occurrence of *kmš* throughout the text. However, it might also be a *mem*, *nun*, *shin*, or *taw*.

<sup>1144</sup> Smend and Socin read '*alep* (*Die Inschrift*, 12). Amandus Nordlander reads '*alep* in his translation, though he represents nothing in his drawing (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5) and Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13) read a word divider.

<sup>1145</sup> Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628) and *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7) do not read the *dalet* before the *he*. Löwy reads neither the *dalet* nor the following *he* as certain but does restore them (*A Critical Examination*, 4). Driver does not read "dh"; he reads *yod* here ("The Inscription of Mesha'," lxxxvi). The 1964 edition of KAI 181 reads "dh" (33); however, the 2002 edition reads *yod* (41). See the following note regarding the end of this line.

<sup>1146</sup> Ward does not read the ". mšm ." ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); neither does *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7), which restores a *waw* before the following '*ayin*. Löwy does not read "mšm" as certain but does restore it (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

In this part of the inscription, Clermont-Ganneau reads "w'l [ ] 'š" ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I). He says the *lamed* might be followed by the traces of "ty." ("La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 174). Nöldeke reads "w'l [ ] 'š" (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5). Ginsburg reads "w'l [ ] w'š" (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II). In 1987, Lemaire reads "w'l[t]y . mšm ." and such is the reading of Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10). Also, in 1987, Lemaire does not read the rest of the line ("Notes d'épigraphie," 210); yet in 1994, he reads "w'ity . mšm . 'š |" ("House of David," 35). In 1998 and 2000, Rainey reads "w'ity . mšm 'št(?)" ("Syntax, Hermeneutics and History," 249; "Following up," 117); in 2001, he reads "w'ity . mšm . 'šy" ("Mesha' and Syntax," 293, 306). The end of this line is badly damaged. I believe that I can see "w'l [ ] dh . mšm . 'š |". I can see how the traces of "dh" might also be read "ty"; however, after examining this inscription both in the Louvre and in the new images produced for this study, I believe "dh" is the better reading.

<sup>1147</sup> Clermont-Ganneau does not read a section divider ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); he suggests either a *he* or a *resh* ("La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 174). Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Löwy (*A Critical Examination*, 4); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Gibson (I:16); Margalit ("Studies," 275); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 231); *KAI* 181 (42); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10) read nothing here. Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Na'aman ("King Mesha," 85-87); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha," lxxxvi) read *resh*. Amandus Nordlander reads *resh* in his translation, though he has a vertical line in his drawing (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I). Lidzbarski offers no certain reading for this letter. He indicates this letter with a dash in his transliteration and a vertical stroke in his drawing (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I). In 1991, Smelik reads nothing here ("Kemosh was Angry," 32); however, he reads a vertical stroke (section divider) here in 1992 ("King Mesha's Inscription," 63).

<sup>1148</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 375; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, 42, Pl. I; "La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 174); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Margalit ("Studies," 275); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 231); Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307); *KAI* 181 (42); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha," lxxxvi) read *shin*. Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I) and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read *mem*. Lidzbarski's drawing shows the traces of a *mem*, but he does not give a reading for this letter in his transliteration (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I). Lemaire reads this letter as either *mem* or *shin* in 1987 ("Notes d'épigraphie," 210) and does not read it in 1994 ("House of David," 35). In 1991, Smelik reads *shin* ("Kemosh was Angry," 32) but reads nothing here in 1992 ("King Mesha's Inscription," 63). Gass reads "š" (*Die Moabiter*, 10). This letter might be a *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *shin*, or *taw*.

<sup>1149</sup> Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5) and Halévy ("Supplément," 523) do not read the *taw*.

<sup>1150</sup> Ward reads nothing in this line before this ("Inscription of Mesha," 628).

<sup>1151</sup> Clermont-Ganneau draws *shin* (*La stèle de Dhiban*, Pl. I) and eventually reads it ("La stèle de Mesa. Observations," 174), though he did not read it in his initial transliterations ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II); Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 63); Margalit ("Studies," 275); *KAI* (181, p. 42); Niccacci ("The Stele of Mesha," 231); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); and Driver ("The Inscription of Mesha," lxxxvi) read *shin*. Lemaire reads this letter as either *šade* or *shin* in 1987 ("Notes d'épigraphie," 210) and does not read it in 1994 ("House of David," 35). Rainey ("Mesha' and Syntax," 307) and Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 391-93) read *šade*. This letter might be a *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, *shin*, or *taw*.

<sup>1152</sup> Clermont-Ganneau ("La stèle de Dhiban," 185, 375; *La stèle de Dhiban*, 6, Pl. I); Ward ("Inscription of Mesha," 628); Nöldeke (*Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa*, 5); *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 7); and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) do not read this letter. Löwy does not read the *dalet* as certain but does restore them (*A Critical Examination*, 4).

<sup>1153</sup> Lemaire reads this as a dot (word divider) in 1987 ("Notes d'épigraphie," 210) and as a vertical line (section divider) in 1994 ("House of David," 35).

<sup>1154</sup> Smend and Socin (*Die Inschrift*, 12); Amandus Nordlander (*Die Inschrift des Königs*, 60, Pl. I); Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I); Halévy ("Supplément," 523); LaGrange ("L'inscription de Méša," 523); Cooke (*A Text-book*, #1, page 1); Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 63); Dussaud (*Les monuments*, 5); Compston (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 13); Sidersky (*La stèle de Méša*, 11); Andersen ("Moabite Syntax," 83); Gibson (I:16); Lemaire ("Notes d'épigraphie," 210; "House of David," 35); Jackson and Dearman ("Text of Mesha," 95); Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307); Smelik ("Kemosh was Angry," 32; "King Mesha's Inscription," 63); Margalit ("Studies," 275); Niccacci ("The Stele

Translation:<sup>1155</sup>

1. I am Mesha, son of Kemosh GD,<sup>1156</sup> King of Moab, the D-
2. ibonite. My father ruled over Moab for thirty years, and I myself [f ru]-
3. ed after ... father. And I made this highplace for Kemosh in Qarhoh. ...
4. ..., because he saved me from all the assailants, and he caused me to look (triumphantly)  
upon all my enemies. ‘Om[r-]
5. i was king of Israel, and he oppressed Moab many days, for Kemosh was angry with (his)  
l[an-]
6. d. And his son succeeded him, and he, too, said, “I shall oppress Moab.” In my days he  
spoke ...
7. But I looked (triumphantly) upon him and his house, and Israel utterly perished forever. Now  
‘Omri had taken possession of the la[n-]
8. d of Madeba. And he dwelt in it YMD<sup>1157</sup> and half the days of his son—forty years.
9. Kemosh was in it in my days. And I built Ba‘al-meon, and I made in it the reservoir, and I  
bui[lt]

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of Mesha,” 231); Rainey (“Mesha’ and Syntax,” 307); *KAI* 181 (42); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 10); and Driver (“The Inscription of Mesha’,” lxxxvi) read *nun*. Löwy reads “n.” (*A Critical Examination*, 4). There is no letter present here on the reconstruction.

<sup>1155</sup> This translation is based on that of P. K. McCarter Jr. (personal communication). See also Smelik, “King Mesha’s Inscription,” 59-92; idem, “The Inscription of King Mesha (2.23),” 137-38. On ‘r’l *dwdh* in line 12, see especially J. Stökl, “Kings, Heroes, Gods: The History of the Translation of the term ‘r’l *dwd* in Line Twelve of the Meša’-Stele,” *KUSATU* 8/9 (2008): 135-62. See also S. Mittman, “Zwei ‘Rätsel’ der Mēša’-Inschrift: Mit einem Beitrag zur aramäischen Steleninschrift von Dan (Tell el-Qāḏī),” *ZDPV* 118 (2002): 53-59.

<sup>1156</sup> In the Mesha stele, in its current reconstructed state, the name of Mesha’s father is Kemosh-gd; however, because the “gd” appears on the portion of the text that was reconstructed from Clermont-Ganneau’s squeeze, many scholars have reconstructed this part of the name in various ways (see line one of the transliteration above). After the el-Kerak inscription was discovered (see discussion below), some scholars suggested that the name of Mesha’s father in the Mesha stele should be read “Kemosh-yat.”

<sup>1157</sup> Most scholars read *ymh*, “his days.” As mentioned above, Clermont-Ganneau says that *ymh* is not impossible but he prefers *ymd* (“La stèle de Méša, Examen,” 91-93). There is a *dalet* on the reconstruction. As I do not believe a certain reading can be determined on palaeographic grounds, I have left the word untranslated.

10. Kiriathaim. Now the men of Gad had lived in the land of ‘Atarot(?) since time immemorial,  
and built for them, the king of [I-]
11. -srael, ‘Atarot. And I fought against the city and took it, and I slew all the ....
12. the city as satisfaction for Kemosh and for Moab. And I brought back from there the altar-  
hearth of its beloved, and I [dr-]
13. agged it before Kemosh in Keriath. And I settled in it the men of Sharon and the m[en of]
14. Mahrit. Then Kemosh said to me, “God seize Nebo from Israel.” ....
15. went by night and fought against it from the break? of dawn until noon. And I [cap-]
16. tured it, and I ..... seven thousand ....., women, and ....
17. .. and maidservants. For to ‘Ashtar-Kemosh I had devoted it. And I took from there ...
18. .... of Yahweh, and I dragged them before Kemosh. Now the [k]ing of Israel had fortified
19. Jahaz and dwelt in it while he was fighting with me. And Kemosh .... him from ....
20. I took from Moab two hundred men, its chiefs. And I brought them up against Jahaz, and I  
took it
21. in order to annex it to Dibon. I built Qarhoh, (both) the Wall of the Forests and the Wal[l]
22. of the Acropolis. And I built its gates, and I built its towers. And
23. I built the king’s house, and I made the restraining walls of the .....
24. the city. But there was no cistern within the city in Qarhoh, and I said to all the people,  
“Make
25. yourselves each one a cistern in his house.” And I dug channels for Qarhoh with ...
26. of Israel. I built [‘A]roer, and I made the highways in the ’Arno[n.]
27. I built Beth-bahmoth, because it had been destroyed. I built Bezer, because it was a ruin.
28. .... of Dibon were arrayed for battle, because all of Dibon was subject (to me). And I  
became kin[g]
29. .... hundreds in the cities that I annexed to the land. And I bui[l-]
30. t ..... and Beth-diblathaim. And I built Beth-ba‘almeon, and I brought up there ....

31. .... the sheep of the land. And as for Horonaim, ..... dwelt there .....
32. .... Kemosh said to me, “Go down, fight with Horonaim.” And I we[nt down]
33. .... Kemosh ..... in it in my days. And I ..... from there .....
34. ....

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:<sup>1158</sup>

The Mesha stele is the earliest securely-dated inscription in which the incipient features of the formal Hebrew script can be detected. This script shares many letter forms with the Phoenician script tradition; however, it also displays distinct innovative letter forms. The following letters provide examples of these distinct Hebrew forms: *bet*, *waw*, *het*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, *pe*, *šade*, and *taw*; and *dalet* is also noteworthy.<sup>1159</sup>

<sup>1158</sup> Compston’s drawing of the text is typologically later than the script of the Mesha stele and cannot be used for palaeographic analysis (*The Inscription on the Stele of Méša*, 17-10).

<sup>1159</sup> Note also the following comments regarding letter forms in the Mesha stele that are not addressed elsewhere in this chapter.

The vertical stroke of *’alep* is longer than *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 4), Rawlinson (“The Moabite Stone,” Fig. 2), Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Renz (*Handbuch*, I: 103), B. Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium: The West Semitic Alphabet Ca. 1150-850 BCE; The Antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian Alphabets* [Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology, 2005], 25); and Röllig (“L’alphabet,” 214) indicate in their Mesha script charts. In their script charts, J. Naveh (*The Development of the Aramaic Script* [Jerusalem, Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970], Fig. 1; *Early History*, 77) and Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25) include only an upright example of *’alep*; they do not include an example with counterclockwise rotation (cf. G. Athas, *The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*. JSOTSup 360 [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003], 99). The Mesha stele has both types. Furthermore, Timm states that there are three types of *’alep* in the Mesha stele (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 277). There is one type of *’alep* in the Mesha stele. Any slight variations between examples of this one type must be attributed to the inability of the human hand to make an exact replica each time it executes a form (cf. the discussion of “acceptable range of variance” in the Methodology chapter). Also, H. Hagelia states that “the horizontal <-sign does not cross the ‘pillar’ to make an opening in the angle” (*The Tel Dan Inscription: A Critical Investigation of Recent Research on Its Palaeography and Philology*. Studia Semitica Upsaliensia 22 [Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2006], 108). It is not exactly clear what he means by this, but the head of *’alep* does pierce its vertical shaft in the Mesha stele.

In their script charts, Rawlinson (“The Moabite Stone,” Fig. 2) and Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25) draw *gimel* upright, while Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69) draws it with clockwise rotation. *Gimel* is rotated counterclockwise in the Mesha stele.

*The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 4), Röllig (“L’alphabet,” 214), and Naveh (*Early History*, 77) draw *he* standing upright. Though some examples of *he* in the original portion of the Mesha stele do stand upright, the majority of *hes* exhibit counterclockwise rotation. Cf. also Timm, who gives the third *he* in line 15 as an example of *he* with clockwise rotation (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 281). This particular *he* is damaged and photographs of it are misleading. When collating this inscription in the Louvre, I determined that it is rotated counterclockwise.

Timm also raises the possibility that the second *he* in line 24 has only two horizontal strokes, but acknowledges that this letter might have suffered damage (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 281). After collating this inscription in the Louvre, I can confirm that this *he* has three horizontal strokes.

*He*’s vertical shaft does not extend above its top horizontal bar, contra Rawlinson (“The Moabite Stone,” Fig. 2), Weippert (“Archäologischer Jahresbericht,” [1964]: 171), Millard (“The Canaanite Linear Alphabet,” 131), and Timm



(*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 281). Timm points to the first *he* in line 8 and the third *he* in line 15. However, any miniscule extension of the vertical stroke in examples such as these is likely the result of a slight slip of the engraver's chisel. It is clear from the many examples of *he* in the Mesha inscription, that the intended form had no such upward extension of the vertical stroke.

Lidzbarski (*Handbuch*, 417, Taf. I) and Drinkard's illustration in Dearman (*Studies in Mesha*, 307) draw *zayin* in line three with a straight vertical shaft; cf. Timm (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 282). The vertical shaft is slanted. Likewise, Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 1), Millard ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," 131), Tropper ("Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," 400; idem, *Die Inschriften*, 339), Röllig ("L'alphabet," 214), and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 16) draw *zayin* with a straight vertical shaft on their script charts (cf. Hagelia, *Tel Dan Inscription*, 108). *Zayin* has a slanted vertical shaft in the Mesha inscription.

*The North British Review* draws *het* with counterclockwise rotation ("The Moabite Inscription," 4). Bennett draws *het* upright with completely horizontal middle bars (*The Moabite Stone*, 69). In the Mesha stele, *het* stands upright; its middle bars slope downward on the left.

In the Mesha stele, though some upright examples of *yod* occur, this letter typically stands rotated in a counterclockwise direction. In his script chart of the Mesha stele, Ahituv does not give counterclockwise examples of *yod* (*Echoes*, 16). Furthermore, Gibson states that *yod* in the Mesha stele has "the distinctive shape met with on later Hebrew inscriptions" (1:16); however, the z-shaped *yod* in the Mesha stele is not different from *yod* in contemporary Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.

The vertical stroke of *samek* is longer than *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 4), Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 1), Tropper ("Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," 400; *Die Inschriften*, 339), and Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25) indicate in their Mesha script charts. This vertical stroke does not pierce *samek*'s horizontal cross bars, contra the drawings of *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 4), Rawlinson ("The Moabite Stone," Fig. 2), and Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II).

Though a few forms of *samek* in the Mesha stele might exhibit the slightest counterclockwise rotation, from the many examples found in this inscription, it appears that the intended form was upright. Contra Timm who draws the Mesha *samek* with only counterclockwise rotation (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 295).

Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15) and Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25) draw *šade* as completely upright—both its vertical shaft and its "z." In the Mesha stele, *šade* favors counterclockwise rotation.

In the Mesha stele, *qop* stands upright or is rotated counterclockwise. *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 4), Rawlinson ("The Moabite Stone," Fig. 2), Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15), Röllig ("L'alphabet," 214), and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 16) do not include a counterclockwise-rotated example of *qop* on their Mesha script charts (cf. Athas, *Tel Dan Inscription*, 128). Sass does not include an upright example in his script chart (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25). In 1970, Naveh gives only an upright example of *qop* in his script chart (*Early History*, 77); in 1997, he gives only a counterclockwise-rotated example (*Development*, Fig. 1). Furthermore, the vertical shaft of *qop* fully divides its ovoid head, contra the drawings of Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II) and Timm's second example of *qop* (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 297-98). This vertical shaft does not extend above the head, however, contra Millard ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet and Its Passage to the Greeks," 131).

In the Mesha stele, *resh* stands upright or exhibits counterclockwise rotation. *The North British Review* ("The Moabite Inscription," 4), Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 1), Cross ("Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel," 15), Millard ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," 131), and Tropper ("Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan," 400; *Die Inschriften*, 339) do not include an upright example of *resh* on their Mesha script charts. Rawlinson ("The Moabite Stone," Fig. 2), Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Röllig ("L'alphabet," 214), Naveh (*Early History*, 77), and Ahituv (*Echoes*, 16) do not give an example with counterclockwise rotation. Weippert ("Archäologischer Jahresbericht," [1964]: 171) and Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25) draw *resh* with clockwise rotation, and Timm also gives some examples of *resh* with clockwise rotation (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 298). In all of the examples Timm gives, I see only two *reshes* that exhibit very slight clockwise rotation. From the many examples of *resh* in the Mesha stele, I believe either upright or rotated counterclockwise was the intended stance for this letter.

Also, the vertical stem of *resh* in the Mesha stele is consistently long, contra the drawing of Ginsburg, which gives examples of both short- and long-stemmed *reshes* (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II).

Van der Kooij states that "the strokes (of *shin*) sometimes extend slightly beyond its cross points" ("The Identity," 117, 120). Likewise, Timm says that in addition to the w-shaped *shin*, the Mesha stele also contains examples of *shin* with overlapping center strokes (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 299-300). Neither van der Kooij nor Timm lists specific examples of this form of *shin*, and I see none in the Mesha script. Based on the many clear examples of this letter in the text, its intended form is w-shaped with no overlapping strokes.

Many of the examples of *bet* in the Mesha stele exhibit clockwise rotation,<sup>1160</sup> and this becomes the preferred stance of *bet* in the Hebrew script by the eighth century, vis-à-vis the counterclockwise stance preferred by Phoenician and Aramaic.

***Dalet* has no stem.** As will be discussed below, during the ninth century, a very short stem begins to develop on Hebrew *dalet*, as first seen in the cursive inscriptions (Tel Rehov 7; late ninth—early eighth-century Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.2, 3.6).<sup>1161</sup>

***Waw* stands upright and has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head.** It preserves the stance and form of tenth-century Phoenician *waw*. It also contrasts markedly with ninth-century Phoenician *waw*, which has taken an upside-down-h form and has begun to arch back in a clockwise direction.

***Het* has two bars.** In the early Hebrew script tradition, from its inception, three-barred *hets* are preferred but two-barred forms are used concurrently and appear fairly frequently. Contemporary Phoenician script prefers a three-barred *het*. Two-barred *hets* appear briefly in the Aramaic script in the eighth-century, yet the one-barred type quickly becomes the standard Aramaic form.

**The head of *kap* stands upright in the Mesha stele.**<sup>1162</sup> It preserves the stance of *kap* seen in the tenth-century Phoenician script; while it stands in contrast to ninth-century Phoenician *kap*,

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<sup>1160</sup> There are some upright examples. Sass does not include these in his Mesha script chart (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25). Naveh does not include an example with clockwise rotation in his script chart (*Development*, Fig. 1).

<sup>1161</sup> Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Cross (“Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel,” 15), and Millard (“The Canaanite Linear Alphabet,” 131) draw the Mesha *dalet* with a short stem. There is no stem on the Mesha *dalet*. However, elsewhere Cross states that Hebrew *dalet* maintains the archaic delta-shaped form into the eighth century (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Faḥariyeh Bilingual Inscription,” in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphical, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* [Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff, eds.; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 403 = *Leaves*, 52, 57). He also states that in the Ben-Hadad inscription, *dalet* has a short tail that is “characteristic of the Aramaic series throughout the ninth century, and is not to be compared with Phoenician, Hebrew, and Moabite scripts where the *delta*-form persists—In Phoenician and Hebrew into the eighth century” (“The Stele Dedicated to Melcarth,” 39 = *Leaves*, 175). and when discussing the short stem of the Tel Dan inscription *dalet*, he says that *dalet*’s stem is “a trait that distinguishes Aramaic from Hebrew (including Moabite) and Phoenician, where the tail develops much later” (*Leaves*, 52 n. 7). He does not seem to consider the stemmed *dalets* in the Phoenician tenth-century ‘Abda sherd or the ninth-century Honeyman and Kilamuwa inscriptions, though he draws the Honeyman *dalet* with a short stem in his script chart in the 1969 version of his Amman Citadel article (Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on the ‘Ammān Citadel Inscription,” 15). The Tel Rehov inscriptions were not (fully) published when Cross made his assessment of ninth-century Hebrew *dalet*.

Furthermore, *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 4), Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Naveh (*Development*, Fig. 1); Cross (“Epigraphic Notes on the Ammān Citadel,” 15), Tropper (“Eine altaramäische Steleninschrift aus Dan,” 400; *Die Inschriften*, 339), and Sass (*The Alphabet at the Turn of the Millennium*, 25) draw the Mesha *dalet* with counterclockwise rotation. In the preserved portion of the Mesha stele, *dalet* stands upright; only *dalet* in the reconstructed portion of the stele stands with counterclockwise rotation.

which prefers counterclockwise rotation. **Its tail extends from either the middle prong or the right prong of the head, and, in some examples, this tail has begun to bend upward slightly at the end.**<sup>1163</sup> This bend develops further in the Hebrew script, and the curled tail of the Hebrew *kap* is one of the major characteristics that distinguishes it from contemporary Phoenician *kap* in the ninth century. Likewise, **the tails of *mem*,<sup>1164</sup> *nun*,<sup>1165</sup> and *pe*, in the Mesha stele, also exhibit this slight bend** and are similarly distinguished from their Phoenician counterparts.

***Ṣade*'s vertical shaft is short in the Mesha stele—it does not extend below the bottom stroke of its z-shaped body.**<sup>1166</sup> The vertical shaft of Hebrew *ṣade* remains short throughout the ninth century, in contrast to the lengthening that occurs in the shaft of contemporary Phoenician *ṣade*.

***Taw* has a compact x-shape, made up of two strokes of equal length.**<sup>1167</sup> Neither of its strokes has begun to lengthen, as in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, and Hebrew *taw* maintains a preference for a compact x-shape throughout the early Iron Age.

### The El-Kerak (Kemoshyat) Statue Fragment (Fig. 37)

The el-Kerak (Kemoshyat) statue fragment (Gibson I:17) was acquired for the Jordan Archaeological Museum in Amman in 1958. Its provenance is unknown. It was first published by

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<sup>1162</sup> Contra Rawlinson, who draws *kap* only with slight counterclockwise rotation (“The Moabite Stone,” Fig. 2) and Timm, who gives some examples of *kap* with extreme counterclockwise rotation (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 287). Though there are a few examples of *kap* in the Mesha stele that do display slight counterclockwise rotation, from the many examples of *kap* in this inscription, it seems that the intended stance of this letter was upright.

<sup>1163</sup> Bennett draws *kap* with a straight tail (*The Moabite Stone*, 69).

<sup>1164</sup> Bennett draws *mem* with a straight tail (*The Moabite Stone*, 69). van der Kooij states that the strokes of *mem* “quite often go just a little beyond the cross points” (“The Identity,” 117, 120). During my on-site collation of this inscription, I did not observe this phenomenon with any frequency, if at all.

<sup>1165</sup> Bennett draws *nun* with a straight tail (*The Moabite Stone*, 69).

<sup>1166</sup> The vertical stroke of *ṣade* in the Mesha inscription does not extend below the bottom horizontal of its z, contra the drawings of *The North British Review* (“The Moabite Inscription,” 4), Rawlinson (“The Moabite Stone,” Fig. 2), Bennett (*The Moabite Stone*, 69), Ginsburg (*The Moabite Stone*, Pl. II), and Timm (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 297).

van der Kooij states that “the short strokes (of *ṣade*) go slightly beyond the cross points” (“The Identity,” 117, 120). During my on-site collation of this inscription, I did not observe this phenomenon with any frequency, if at all.

<sup>1167</sup> Contra Timm’s drawings (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 300).

W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett in 1963, and their report contains two different stories of discovery. The first account is that the piece was recovered from the foundation trench of a new building in Kerak; the location of the building was not disclosed. The second account is that it was discovered during the demolition of an ancient wall in a private home near the Roman Pool east of Kerak, in the Mubayyedin quarter.<sup>1168</sup> The piece is currently held in the Kerak Museum (8607).

In fragmentary condition, the inscription originally adorned part of a large statue or stele of an anthropomorphic figure.<sup>1169</sup> All that remains of this figure is the lower part of an abdomen and the top of a belted skirt—the inscription lies on the abdomen and belt. The maximum surface measurements of this fragment are 14 cm high x 12.5 cm wide.<sup>1170</sup>

The inscription is three lines long and does not appear to have ever been longer, as there is ample room for additional lines both above and below what is preserved. Unfortunately, however, both the beginnings and ends of the lines are missing. The inscription mentions a king of Moab named [ ] *mšyat*, and scholars have conjectured that this might be the father of the ninth-century Moabite King Mesha,<sup>1171</sup> whom I discussed in the previous section.

The script of the el-Kerak inscription is best analyzed in comparison with that of the Mesha stele to which it most closely compares. It dates palaeographically to the mid-ninth century,<sup>1172</sup> and is

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<sup>1168</sup> W. L. Reed and F. V. Winnett, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Kerak," *BASOR* 172 (1963): 1-9, see especially 2-4 and no. 6b.

<sup>1169</sup> H. D. D. Parker and A. Fiutko-Arico, "A Moabite-Inscribed Statue Fragment from Kerak: Possible Egyptian Parallels," (forthcoming).

<sup>1170</sup> Reed and Winnett, "A Fragment," 4.

<sup>1171</sup> This name is likely Kemoshyat, as Kemosh is the patron deity of Moab. (Kemosh is part of the name of Mesha's father, who is mentioned in line one of the Mesha stele discussed above.) For a discussion of this name, see *KAI* (1962), 170; Reed and Winnett, 1963, 7-8; D. N. Freedman, "A Second Mesha Inscription," *BASOR* 175 (1964): 50-51; J. Braslavi, "כְּמוֹשִׁית אֲבִי מִישַׁע מֶלֶךְ מוֹאָב," *Bulletin of the Israelite Exploration Society* 28 (1964): 250-53; V. I. Schiffmann, "Mitteilungen: Eine Neue Moabitische Inschrift aus Karcha," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 324; P. Swiggers, "The Moabite Inscription of el-Kerak," *Annali istituto universitario orientale* 42.4 (1982): 521-25; idem, "Note sur le nom Kmšyt," *AION* 42 (1982): 305-06; Weippert, "Archäologischer Jahresbericht," (1964): 169-70; idem, "Archäologischer Jahresbericht," *ZDPV* 82 (1966): 329-30; Timm (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 274-77); Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 66).

<sup>1172</sup> The following compare the script of the el-Kerak inscription to the Mesha stele. Some have given a specific date for the text. Reed and Winnett, c.850-830 BCE ("A Fragment," 5); Freedman ("A Second Mesha Inscription," 50); Braslavi ("כְּמוֹשִׁית," 250); Schiffmann, end of ninth century ("Mitteilungen," 324); Weippert, ninth century ("Archäologischer Jahresbericht," [1964]: 169-71); Gibson, ninth century (I:17); Aḥituv, ninth century (*Echoes*, 387).

also written in the Moabite language<sup>1173</sup> and the Hebrew script.<sup>1174</sup> A history of scholarship for the piece is found in Gibson.<sup>1175</sup> Good photographs are available on InscriptiFact.<sup>1176</sup>

Transliteration:

1. [ ]m<sup>1177</sup>šyt . mlk . m'b . h?<sup>1178</sup>[ ]
2. [ ]t . kmš . lmb'r . ky . 'h<sup>1179</sup>[ ]
3. [ ]nh . whn . 'šty . 't[ ]

Translation:

1. . . . [Ke]moshyat,<sup>1180</sup> King of Moab, the . . .
2. . . . [temp]le?<sup>1181</sup> of Kemosh, for an altar,<sup>1182</sup> because . . .

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<sup>1173</sup> Cf. Jackson, "The Language of the Mesha Stele," 96-130.

<sup>1174</sup> Cf. note 933. Naveh says the earliest Hebrew script features are seen in the el-Kerak fragment (and in the Mesha stele and Dibon fragment) ("A Palaeographic Note," 70 = *Studies*, 12; "Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from 'Izbet Šarṭah," 33). Smelik says the script of the el-Kerak fragment "correspond(s) to what was customary in Israel at the time" ("Kemosh was Angry with His Land," 35-36).

Reed and Winnett refer to the script as early Moabite ("A Fragment," 1). Weippert calls it Moabite lapidary script ("Archäologischer Jahresbericht," [1964]: 169-71).

<sup>1175</sup> Gibson I:17. See also Swiggers, "The Moabite Inscription of el-Kerak," 521-25; Smelik, "Kemosh Was Angry with His Land," 35-36; Margalit, "Studies," 271-315; Gass, *Die Moabiter*, 66-69.

<sup>1176</sup> InscriptiFact, n.p. [cited 13 September 2013]. Online: [www.inscriptifact.com](http://www.inscriptifact.com). As mentioned in the Methodology chapter, I am partnering with the respective museums and departments of antiquity to make the images that I produced for this study also available on InscriptiFact.

<sup>1177</sup> Timm does not read this *mem* (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 271).

<sup>1178</sup> Though Reed and Winnett do not suggest any reading for this letter, they do suggest "the Daibonite" as a possible reading on analogy with the Mesha stele ("A Fragment," 8). Braslavi ("כמשיח," 250); Schiffmann ("Mitteilungen," 324-25); Gibson (I:17); Naveh ("Canaanite and Hebrew Inscriptions," 66-67); Swiggers ("The Moabite Inscription of el-Kerak," 521); Margalit ("Studies," 278); Aḥituv (*Echoes*, 387); *KAI* 306 (74); and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 66) read *dalet*. This letter is damaged. It is likely a *bet*, *gimel*, *dalet*, *pe*, or *resh*. It is also possible that this letter might be a *šade*. There is a line that extends to the right of the bottom of what remains of this letter. It is not clear whether this line is an intentional stroke or simply damage.

<sup>1179</sup> Weippert ("Archäologischer Jahresbericht," [1964]: 169) and Timm (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 272) do not read this *he*. Gass does not read it as certain, but suggests either a *he* or a *het* might be read here (*Die Moabiter*, 67).

<sup>1180</sup> See note 1171.

<sup>1181</sup> Reed and Winnett suggest this *tav* might be the final letter in the word "temple" ("A Fragment," 8).

3. . . . and now, I have made . . .

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:

The writing of the el-Kerak fragment mirrors that of the Mesha stele and exhibits some distinct letter forms of the newly developed Hebrew script. These forms are seen in the following letters: *he*, *waw*, *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, and *taw*.

**The el-Kerak *he* has four horizontal bars.** Though the typical Hebrew form of *he*, like *he* in the Phoenician and Aramaic scripts, has only three bars throughout the early Iron II period, a four-barred form does occasionally appear in Hebrew inscriptions.

As in the Mesha stele, ***waw* stands upright and has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head.**

**The tails of *kap*, *mem*, and *nun* are quite round and curled up at the ends,** a feature anticipated in the bent tails of these letters in the Mesha stele.

**The el-Kerak *taw* has the compact x-shape seen in the Mesha stele.**

#### The Dibon Fragment (Fig. 38)

The Dibon fragment was found in 1951 on the surface of the northeast portion of Tell-Dhiban by R. Palmer, a visitor to the excavation site.<sup>1183</sup> It is made of gray-black basalt and measures 4 x 5 cm. Small portions of two lines of text remain.<sup>1184</sup>

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<sup>1182</sup> The meaning of this word is unclear. Reed and Winnett, "altar (?)" ("A Fragment," 8-9); Schiffmann, "Plünderer (Geplünderten)" ("Mitteilungen," 324-25); Gibson "as an act of purgation" (I:17); Swiggers, "burning place" ("The Moabite Inscription of el-Kerak," 523-25); Weippert, "(Brandopfer-)Altar" ("Archäologischer Jahresbericht," [1964]: 171); Smelik, "fire-place" ("Kemosh Was Angry with His Land," 35); Margalit, "grazing land" ("Studies," 278); Aḥituv, "brazier(?)" (*Echoes*, 387). See also Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 67).

<sup>1183</sup> When this inscription was published in 1952, it was said to be "in the possession of G. Lankester Harding, Chief Curator of Antiquities in the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan" (Murphy, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon," 23). In 1964, F. V. Winnett said it was in the Amman Museum ("The Excavations at Dibon (Dhibān) in Moab. Band 1 The First Campaign 1950-1951," *The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 36/37 [1964]: 23). Its current location is unknown.

<sup>1184</sup> Murphy, "A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon," 20-23.

The fragment, along with photographs, was first published by R. E. Murphy.<sup>1185</sup> A bibliography can be found in E. Gass.<sup>1186</sup> The script of this fragment compares with that of the Mesha stele, and on those grounds, it may be dated palaeographically to the ninth century and identified as Hebrew.<sup>1187</sup>

#### Transliteration:

1. š?<sup>1188?</sup><sup>1189</sup>
2. bt.k

#### Significant Palaeographic Features:

Though there are only four clear letters in the Dibon fragment, at least two of those letters, *bet* and *taw* display typologically significant features that are shared with these letters in the Mesha and el-Kerak inscriptions.<sup>1190</sup>

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<sup>1185</sup> *Ibid.*

I was unable to see this inscription when collating in Jordan in the summer of 2011. However, the published images of the text do allow for limited palaeographic analysis, though I am uncertain of the form of *kap*. See the discussion below.

<sup>1186</sup> Gass, *Die Moabiter*, 65. See also Smelik, “Kemosh Was Angry with His Land,” 34.

<sup>1187</sup> Cf. note 933. A palaeographic date in the early eighth century cannot be ruled out. Weippert dates the text to the ninth century (“Archäologischer Jahresbericht,” [1964]: 169). Murphy palaeographically dates the text to the ninth century and believes this inscription is slightly older than the Mesha stele (“A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon,” 23). Albright, who dates the fragment to the first half of the ninth century (personal communication in Murphy, “A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon,” 23 n.12), Van Zyl (*The Moabites*, 31), Timm (*Moab zwischen den Mächten*, 269), and Gass (*Die Moabiter*, 65) also believe the script of this fragment is less advanced than that of the Mesha stele. See the fuller palaeographic discussion below, most especially the discussion of *kap*. Smelik says the script “correspond(s) to what was customary in Israel at the time” (“Kemosh was Angry with His Land,” 35-36).

<sup>1188</sup> Only the bottom part of a vertical stroke remains. This character may be a *gimel*, *waw*, *samek*, *qop*, or a vertical section divider. (Note that the Mesha stele employs two types of dividers, a vertical section divider, as well as dot word divider.)

<sup>1189</sup> This letter may be a *he* or *het*.

<sup>1190</sup> Murphy states that the tail of *kap* in the Dibon fragment “has not yet taken on the characteristically cursive bend” (“A Fragment of an Early Moabite Inscription from Dibon,” 23). So also Winnett (“The Excavations at Dibon,” 23). Likewise, in Weippert’s script chart, the Dibon fragment *kap* has no bend or curve (“Archäologischer Jahresbericht,” [1964]: 171). Others follow them in this assessment and, therefore, argue that the Dibon fragment predates palaeographically the Mesha stele (see note 1187). I do not believe that *kap* may be used in a palaeographic analysis of the Dibon fragment, as I believe that the one example of this letter in this inscription has sustained damage. Based on the published photographs, the end of *kap*’s tail appears to have been lost when the inscription was broken. Thus, it is

***Bet* is rotated in a clockwise direction**, as in the Mesha stele.

***Taw*, as in the Mesha and el-Kerak inscriptions, has a compact x-shape, made up of two strokes of equal length.**

## The Cursive Corpus

### Arad Ostraca

Over 100 inscribed objects were found at Tel Arad during the excavations conducted by Y. Aharoni between 1962 and 1967, and also during later archaeological activity at the site in 1974 and 1976.<sup>1191</sup> Four ink ostraca, nos. 76-79<sup>1192</sup> (Fig. 39), were found in Arad Stratum XI. Aharoni originally associated this stratum with the tenth century BCE;<sup>1193</sup> however, the consensus of archaeological scholarship—including advocates of both the “Modified Conventional” as well as the “Low” Chronologies<sup>1194</sup>—now prefers a ninth-century date for this stratum. Such agreement regarding strata dates among archaeologists working in Cisjordan makes Arad a particularly important site for Iron Age archaeology and palaeography. It allows the material culture recovered from Arad to provide secure typological bench marks for both fields.

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impossible to determine if, like the Mesha and el-Kerak *kaps*, the Dibon *kap* has the characteristically Hebrew curl at the end of its tail.

<sup>1191</sup> Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*. See also, Gibson I:13; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Arad*, pages 5-108; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 92-153.

<sup>1192</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Arad* 76-79, pages 95-96; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 44-46; III: Pl. II, 1-4; cf. Pl. IX, 7.

Based on palaeographic comparison, Aharoni also placed unstratified ostrakon #80 with these ostraca (*Arad Inscriptions*, 100). I see nothing to preclude this association from a palaeographic standpoint. See also Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Arad* 80, page 97.

<sup>1193</sup> Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, 130.

<sup>1194</sup> See especially O. Zimhoni, “The Iron Age Pottery of Tel ‘Eton and Its Relation to the Lachish, Tell Beit Mirsim, and Arad Assemblages,” *TA* 12 (1985): 63-90; A. Mazar and E. Netzer, “On the Israelite Fortress at Arad,” *BASOR* 263 (1986): 87-91; D. Ussishkin, “The Date of the Judean Shrine at Arad,” *IEJ* 38 (1988): 142-57; A. Mazar, *The Archaeology of the Land of the Bible (ca. 10000-586 B.C.E.)* (New York: Doubleday: 1990), 373; idem, “The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant,” in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* (T. E. Levy and T. Higham, eds.; London: Equinox, 2005), 19-20; L. Singer-Avitz, “Arad: The Iron Age Pottery Assemblages,” *TA* 29 (2002): 110-214; I. Finkelstein, “The Campaign of Shoshenq I to Palestine: A Guide to the 10<sup>th</sup> Century BCE Polity,” *ZDPV* 118 (2002): 109-35; Z. Herzog and L. Singer-Avitz, “Redefining the Centre: the Emergence of State in Judah,” *TA* 31 (2004): 209-42. See the summary discussions in Rollston (*The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming) and in Renz (*Handbuch*, I, 40-43).



The four ninth-century ostraca from Arad are quite brief and fragmentary; however, two of the four contain enough text to indicate that they were some sort of accounting documents, and most of the other inscriptions recovered from the site were administrative documents as well. There is nothing in their language that is definitively Hebrew. Their script, however, is certainly Hebrew and dates palaeographically to the first half of the ninth century. These ostraca were published along with good photographs by Aharoni.<sup>1195</sup> Ostrakon 76 is located in the Israel Museum (IAA 1972-122). Ostraca 77-78 were not registered in the IAA database; their location is unknown. Ostrakon 79 is housed in the storehouse of the Israel Antiquities Authority in Beth Shemesh (IAA 1967-1881).

#### Arad 76

##### Transliteration:

1. b<sup>1196</sup> n<sup>?</sup><sup>1197</sup> [     ] m [     ]
2. bn<sup>?</sup><sup>1198</sup> h [     ]<sup>1199</sup> <sup>1200</sup>
3. bn mn [     ] l hq3t<sup>1201</sup>
4. š [     ]
5. qt [     ]
6. z?<sup>1202</sup> [     ] 2<sup>1203</sup>

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<sup>1195</sup> I was not able to examine these ostraca when collating inscriptions for this project during the summer of 2011; however, the published photographs allow for palaeographic analysis.

<sup>1196</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al. read nothing past this letter (*Hebrew Inscriptions*, 95).

<sup>1197</sup> Aharoni (*Arad Inscriptions*, 99) and Renz (*Handbuch*, I: 44) read *bet*. This letter might be a *bet* or *resh*.

<sup>1198</sup> It appears that Aharoni reads this extra mark as the right side of the following *het* (*Arad Inscriptions*, 99); however, this stroke does not belong to the *het*, though it is unclear which letter form or hieratic numeral it might be a part of.

<sup>1199</sup> Aharoni reads the hieratic number 10 in this area (*Arad Inscriptions*, 99). Renz reads “10 hq3t” (*Handbuch*, I: 44). I cannot read definitively any of the traces in this area.

<sup>1200</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al. do not read this line at all (*Hebrew Inscriptions*, 95).

<sup>1201</sup> Dobbs-Allsopp et al. read the number one here (*Hebrew Inscriptions*, 95). It appears to be one stroke followed by the hieratic *heqat* sign. See S. Wimmer, *Palästinisches Hieratisch: Die Zahl- und Sonderzeichen in der althebräischen Schrift* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 54, 262.

7. g<sup>1204</sup>[ ]

Translation:

1. Son of .....
2. Son of .....
3. Son of ..... *l hq3t* .....
4. ....
5. ....
6. .... *2* .....
7. ....

Arad 77

Transliteration

1. k[ ]

Arad 78

Transliteration:

1. [ ]l

Arad 79

Transliteration:

1. [ ]h *2 baths*<sup>1205</sup>

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<sup>1202</sup> Aharoni (*Arad Inscriptions*, 99) and Renz (*Handbuch*, I: 45) read *gimel*. Dobbs-Allsopp et al. read *resh* (*Hebrew Inscriptions*, 96). This letter might be *bet*, *gimel*, *he*, or *resh*.

<sup>1203</sup> Renz reads “20 *hq3t*” (*Handbuch*, I: 45).

<sup>1204</sup> McCarter (in Tappy et al., “An Abecedary,” 33 n.55) and G. van der Kooij (*Early North-West Semitic Script Traditions: An Archaeological Study of the Linear Alphabetic Scripts up to c.500 B.C.; Ink and Argillary* [Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, 1986], fig.17 1-27, fig. 18) read *resh*. I also vacillated between reading either *gimel* or *resh* for this letter and believe the letter traces most resemble *gimel*, though *resh* is not an impossible reading.

Translation:

1. .... 2 *baths*.

Significant Palaeographic Features:

Arad ostraca 76-79 (along with the Tel Rehov inscriptions discussed below) are the earliest examples of the cursive Hebrew script. The letters *'alep*, *bet*, *het*, *mem*, *šade*, and *qop* provide important information regarding the Hebrew writing tradition in the ninth century.<sup>1206</sup>

**'Alep's vertical shaft is bowed inward in the direction of the nose** (Arad 79). This is discussed more fully below.

**Bet exhibits the clockwise rotation** present in the Mesha stele and Dibon fragment *bets* (Arad 76, 79).<sup>1207</sup>

The ninth-century Arad ostraca have both the typical three-barred form of *het* seen in early Iron II Hebrew inscriptions (Arad 79), as well as the **two-barred form** seen in the Mesha stele (Arad 79).

**The tail of *mem*** in at least one of the examples in Arad 76 **exhibits a slight bend**, as in the Mesha stele.

**The vertical shaft of *šade* is short**, as in the Mesha stele (Arad 76).

**The head of *qop* has begun to break down**. In the formal script of the Mesha stele, and in contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, *qop*'s head is round. It appears to have been made in one

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<sup>1205</sup> Aharoni thinks *bath* is abbreviated in the inscription by the letter *bet* followed by another diagonal stroke indicating "unit" or "measure" (*Arad Inscriptions*, 100). Cf. J. Naveh, "The Numbers of *Bat* in the Arad Ostraca," *IEJ* 42 (1992): 52-54; Wimmer, *Palästinisches Hieratisch*, 54-55.

<sup>1206</sup> The letter *kap* is found in Arad 77 in the inscriptions from Stratum XI. McCarter states that this ostrakon is broken in the area of *kap*'s tail and, therefore, it is impossible to tell if this tail curled up at the end as in other ninth-century Hebrew-script inscriptions (in Tappy et al., "An Abecedar," 35). To my eye it appears as if the ink stroke forming *kap*'s tail ends before the break and that *kap*'s tail is thus fully preserved. In which case, this *kap* has a straight tail.

<sup>1207</sup> McCarter says the *bets* in Arad 76 and 79 are "rounded rather than angular. The *bet* in line 3 of Ostrakon 76 is reproduced in the drawing with a rather pointed 'nose' (Y. Aharoni 1981:99), but this does not seem to be a faithful representation of the faded sign in the photograph" (in Tappy et al., "An Abecedar," 32 n.54). To my eye, the nose of the *bet* in line 3 of Arad 76 does appear pointed.

rather circular stroke and to have been divided into two equal parts by *qop*'s vertical shaft. **In the cursive ink script of Arad 76, *qop*'s head is formed with two semi-circular strokes, which results in an asymmetrical head shape. The bottom of its right head stroke intersects its vertical shaft in a lower position than does the bottom of its left head stroke.** The head of *qop* continues to exhibit this change in shape in later Hebrew inscriptions. This provides a good example of the way in which the cursive expression of a script tradition often runs a bit ahead of the formal, and of how the cursive execution of a letter often results in a change in that letter's form.<sup>1208</sup>

### Tel Rehov Fragments

Six ninth-century inscriptions on pottery were found at Tel Rehov during the Hebrew University excavations led by A. Mazar from 1997-2012. The texts were recovered from Stratum IV, which the excavators date to the ninth century, before 840/830 BCE. They may be grouped on the basis of their media into three categories: (1) inscriptions incised in pottery after firing (6, 8); (2) inscriptions incised in pottery before firing (7, 10, 11); and (3) inscriptions in ink on pottery (9).

All of the epigraphs are short, the longest having only nine letters. Most are simply personal names, with no clear grammatical or orthographic markers, and, consequently, their language cannot be determined. Their script, however, is definitively Hebrew, and it dates palaeographically to the mid-ninth century. They were published, along with good photographs, by Mazar and S. Ahituv<sup>1209</sup> and are currently held in the archaeological collection of Hebrew University.

#### (1) Inscriptions Incised in Pottery after Firing

<sup>1208</sup> Cf. the discussion of formal and cursive script expressions in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1209</sup> A. Mazar and S. Ahituv, "Inscriptions from Tel Rehov and Their Contribution to the Study of Writing and Literacy during the Iron Age IIA," *ErIsr* 30 (2011): 300\*-16\* (in Hebrew); idem, "Inscriptions from Tel Rehov and Their Contribution to the Study of Writing and Literacy during the Iron Age IIA," in *"See, I Will Bring a Scroll Recounting What Befell Me" (Ps 40:8): Epigraphy and Daily Life - From the Bible to the Talmud Dedicated to the Memory of Professor Hanan Eshel*. Journal of Ancient Judaism. Supplements (E. Eshel and Y. Levin, eds.; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, forthcoming). Tel Rehov 1-3 were first published by A. Mazar in "Three 10th-9th Century B.C.E. Inscriptions From Tel Rehov," in *Saxa loquentur: Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. Festschrift für Volkmart Fritz zum 65. Geburtstag* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2003), 171-84.

Tel Rehov 6 (Jar) – Ownership Designation with Personal Name (Fig. 40)

Transliteration:

1. lšq ?<sup>1210</sup> nmš

Translation:<sup>1211</sup>

1. Belonging to Šq ? Nemesh

Tel Rehov Fragment 8 (Jar) (Fig. 42)

Transliteration:

1. m‘??‘m

(2) Inscriptions Incised in Pottery after Firing

Tel Rehov Fragment 7 (Jar) – Personal Name (Fig. 41)

Transliteration:

1. ’lšdq<sup>1212</sup>šhly

Translation:<sup>1213</sup>

1. Elišedek (son of) Shaḥli

Tel Rehov 10 (Fragment) (Fig. 44)

Transliteration:

1. b

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<sup>1210</sup> This character does not appear to be an alphabetic letter. Mazar and Aḥituv have raised various possibilities for the reading, possibly a hieratic numeral (“Inscriptions from Tel Rehov,” in “*See, I Will Bring*, forthcoming).

<sup>1211</sup> This translation is based on that of Mazar and Aḥituv (“Inscriptions from Tel Rehov,” in “*See, I Will Bring*, forthcoming).

<sup>1212</sup> Mazar and Aḥituv suggest *qop* (“Inscriptions from Tel Rehov,” in “*See, I Will Bring*, forthcoming). I concur, but *waw* might also be a possible reading from a palaeographic standpoint.

<sup>1213</sup> This translation is based on that of Mazar and Aḥituv (“Inscriptions from Tel Rehov,” in “*See, I Will Bring*, forthcoming).

Tel Rehov 11 (Fragment 11) (Fig. 44)

Transliteration:

1. §

### (3) Inscriptions in Ink on Pottery

Tel Rehov 9 (Ostrakon)<sup>1214</sup> (Fig. 43)

Transliteration:

Piece 1 --- l

Piece 2 --- ?<sup>1215</sup>?<sup>1216</sup>yš‘

### Significant Palaeographic Features:

The Tel Rehov inscriptions from Stratum IV provide the largest corpus of ninth-century cursive Hebrew inscriptions recovered to date. Their script shares many of the distinct Hebrew script characteristics seen in the contemporary formal inscriptions from Moab and cursive inscriptions from Arad and also exhibits additional developments in the Hebrew letter forms that take place during this period. Additionally, like the Arad ostraca, the Tel Rehov inscriptions provide clear examples of the way in which the cursive execution of a script drives change in letter forms, and these resultant forms are often somewhat more typologically developed than analogous forms in contemporary formal inscriptions. Of particular note in the Tel Rehov texts are the letters: *dalet*, *he*, *het*, *mem*, *nun*, *‘ayin*, *šade*, *qop*, and *shin*.

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<sup>1214</sup> This inscription was found in two pieces. There is no join between them.

<sup>1215</sup> A. Yardeni, who drew the inscription for Meshel and Ahituv’s publication, suggests *‘alep*. Meshel and Ahituv also suggest *bet* or *yod* (“Inscriptions from Tel Rehov,” in “*See, I Will Bring*, forthcoming). I believe any traces of a remaining stem are likely too short for this letter to be an *‘alep*. *Bet* and *yod* are both possibilities. I slightly prefer *bet*.

<sup>1216</sup> I believe this letter is likely an *‘ayin*, though the scribe failed to completely close the head.

Tel Rehov (7) provides the first example of development in Hebrew *dalet*, as a very short stem has begun to develop on the right side of the letter.<sup>1217</sup>

The vertical shaft of *he* is slightly curved. This is discussed in more detail below.

*Het* exhibits a feature that becomes a distinguishing characteristic of several Hebrew letters in later inscriptions. The right side of its top horizontal bar extends past the top of its vertical shaft on the right (Tel Rehov 7).<sup>1218</sup>

In the ninth century, the standard Hebrew *mem*, like Phoenician, has a five-stroke, zigzag shape. Its upper four strokes form a head that is rotated to a greater or lesser degree in a counterclockwise direction. Its bottom stroke forms a tail below this head. In Tel Rehov 6, *mem*'s head does not have the aforementioned zigzag shape, rather, it is composed of two check marks.<sup>1219</sup> This example exhibits a significant change in *mem*'s letter form, a change that typifies the shape of Hebrew *mem* in the eighth century. I discuss this change in greater detail below. Furthermore, the end of *mem*'s tail in Tel Rehov 8<sup>1220</sup> exhibits the bend seen in that of the Mesha stele and Arad 76.

*Nun*'s head shape also exhibits a significant form change quite similar to *mem*. In the ninth century, the standard Hebrew *nun*, like Phoenician, has a three-stroke, zigzag shape. Its upper two strokes form a head. Its bottom stroke forms a tail below this head. In Tel Rehov 6, *nun* does not have the aforementioned zigzag shape; rather, its head is composed of a single check mark

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<sup>1217</sup> *Dalet*'s head does not quite close at the top. This is not typologically significant. Hebrew *dalet*'s head does not open in its subsequent development.

<sup>1218</sup> In Tel Rehov 9, the top horizontal stroke of *yod* extends past its oblique spine on the right. Though, as mentioned above, this type of top-stroke extension becomes a significant palaeographic development in several letters in the Hebrew script tradition, *yod* is not one of these letters.

<sup>1219</sup> Note also the first *mem* in Tel Rehov 8. Its form anticipates the change seen in *mem* in Tel Rehov 6. Its right head stroke does not form a perfect junction with its tail stroke.

<sup>1220</sup> Especially in the second example of *mem* (and maybe also in the *mem* of Tel Rehov 6).

attached to its tail stroke somewhat below the top of this tail stroke.<sup>1221</sup> This form of *nun* is seen frequently in eighth-century Hebrew inscriptions.

In the ninth century, Hebrew *‘ayin*, as Phoenician, is typically formed as a complete circle and is executed in a single stroke. ***‘Ayin in the Tel Rehov ostraca (8, 9), however, exhibits a noteworthy development. The letter appears to have no longer been executed in one stroke but in two; and as a result, it begins to lose its circular form and to flatten out, especially on its top/left side.*** Such is the typical form of Hebrew *‘ayin* in the eighth century.

**Moreover, in the Tel Rehov inscriptions (8, 9) *‘ayin* exhibits a tick at its termination point on its lower right side.** Such ticks are the result of a scribe’s dragging his writing instrument as he completes the final stroke of a letter, as discussed previously in the Methodology chapter and in more detail below. Ticks do not become a prominent part of the letter *‘ayin* in the Hebrew script in the subsequent period (as they do in other letters discussed below).<sup>1222</sup>

**The vertical shaft of *ṣade* is short** (Tel Rehov 7), as in the Mesha stele and Arad 76.

As in Arad 76, **the head of the Tel Rehov *qop* has broken down. Formed with two semi-circular strokes, the bottom of its right head stroke intersects its vertical shaft in a lower position than does the bottom of its left head stroke. A further development has also taken place, as *qop*’s vertical shaft no longer fully divides its head but only partially intersects it** (Tel Rehov 6).

*Shin* exhibits a development similar to that seen in the heads of *mem* and *nun*. The typical *shin* in ninth-century Hebrew, as in contemporary Phoenician, has a symmetrical w-shape. However, in Tel Rehov 6, ***shin* has begun to break down and to lose its symmetry. The second stroke**

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<sup>1221</sup> Note also the first *mem* in Tel Rehov 8. Its form anticipates the change seen in *mem* in Tel Rehov 6. Its right head stroke does not form a perfect junction with its tail stroke.

<sup>1222</sup> Though, there is a similar form of *‘ayin* in Arad 31 (Stratum VII). Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter (and also the note that follows).

Note also that the scribe failed to completely close the first example of *‘ayin* in Tel Rehov 8 and maybe also in the first example of *‘ayin* in Tel Rehov 9 (if this letter is indeed an *‘ayin*). Unlike in Aramaic script in the eighth-century, however, Hebrew *‘ayin* does not develop in this direction. It maintains a closed head.



(moving from left to right) of the letter no longer meets the third stroke at its top, and this form anticipates the form that Hebrew *shin* takes in the eighth century.

### The Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman) Inscriptions

Fifty five inscriptions were recovered from the Negev site of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman). This site was excavated over three short seasons in 1975-1976, under the direction of Z. Meshel on behalf of the Institute for Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, the Institute for Nature Conservation Research of Tel Aviv University, and the Department of Holy Land Studies of the Kibbutz Movement. It is a small, one-period site that was constructed around c.800 BCE, and occupied only from this time through the first half of the eighth century.<sup>1223</sup>

E. H. Palmer found the first inscription fragment at ‘Ajrud—a single letter *’alep* incised on a pottery sherd—as he traveled from Sinai to Palestine in 1869.<sup>1224</sup> It was not until 100 years later, in 1970, that Meshel conducted the first survey of ‘Ajrud and found four additional inscription fragments, each of these also bearing a single *’alep*. During the course of the 1975-1976 excavations, the excavators recovered 50 more inscriptions. Most were discovered in Building A, though one (2.7)<sup>1225</sup> came from Building B, and several other sherds were found scattered throughout the site. The inscriptions are typically religious in nature, often votive or blessing texts, and some appear to be student exercises.<sup>1226</sup> The best known of the ‘Ajrud texts are the blessings addressed to “Yahweh of

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<sup>1223</sup> Z. Meshel, ed., *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Ḥorvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012), IX, XXI-XXII, 73.

<sup>1224</sup> E. H. Palmer, *The Desert of the Exodus* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872), 275. Palmer referred to the *’alep* as “Phoenician.”

<sup>1225</sup> Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.7 is a sherd bearing the *lamed* ownership designation and the beginning of a personal name (S. Ahituv, E. Eshel, and Z. Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” in *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud [Ḥorvat Teman]: An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* [Z. Meshel, ed.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012], 81). It is similar to inscriptions 1.4 and 2.4 discussed below.

<sup>1226</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” 134-35.

Teman and his Asherah” and to “Yahweh of Shomron (Samaria) and his Asherah.”<sup>1227</sup> In 1994, all of the inscriptions, along with the other finds from the site, were returned to Egypt in accordance with the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.<sup>1228</sup>

In 2012, Meshel published the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud inscriptions in the official excavation volume, *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (Horvat Teman): An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border*.<sup>1229</sup>

Images of the inscriptions, along with a bibliography of earlier studies, can be found there.<sup>1230</sup> The epigraphic and palaeographic analyses of the texts that appear in Meshel’s volume were conducted by S. Ahituv, E. Eshel, and Meshel.<sup>1231</sup> Meshel’s volume is the starting point for my study of the ‘Ajrud inscriptions, because this is the first time all of the inscriptions have been published and with good images.

Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel have grouped the ‘Ajrud inscriptions on the basis of their media into four categories: (1) inscriptions incised in stone (1.1-1.4); (2a) inscriptions incised in pottery after firing (2.1-2.8) and (2b) inscriptions incised in pottery before firing (2.9-2.28); (3) inscriptions in ink on pottery (3.1-3.17); and (4) inscriptions in ink on plaster (4.1-4.6). Most are written in the

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<sup>1227</sup> Meshel, *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud*; IX, XXI-XXII, 73. Many of the inscriptions appear on pithoi alongside various drawings, and murals were also found on plaster walls at the site. These drawings and murals include a variety of images such as bulls, lions, a tree flanked by ibex, and divine beings, whose “iconographic sources of inspiration lie in the Phoenician-North Syrian world” (P. Beck, “The Drawings and Decorative Designs,” in *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud [Horvat Teman]: An Iron Age II Religious Site on the Judah-Sinai Border* [Z. Meshel, ed.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2012], 143-203). With regard to the relationship between the pithos drawings and the inscriptions, see especially Beck, “The Drawings,” 183-84. She states, “My general impression, based mainly on the ‘stratigraphy’ and placement of the inscriptions, is that they were written by different hands than those that applied the drawings to the pithoi, and at different times” (184).

<sup>1228</sup> The site of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud was excavated by Meshel and his team after Israel gained control of the Negev from Egypt after the Six-Day War (Meshel, *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud*, XVII, XX). The artifacts from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud are held in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo (H. Shanks, “Another Unexpected Surprise from the Egyptian Revolution,” *The Jerusalem Post* [13 March 2011]: n.p. [cited 24 May 2013]. Online: <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-EdContributors/Article.aspx?id=211997>). They have not been available for scholarly examination for quite some time.

<sup>1229</sup> Meshel, *Kuntillet ‘Ajrud*.

<sup>1230</sup> As mentioned above, the inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud have not been available for on-site study for quite some time. However, the images of the inscriptions published by Meshel are of high quality and allow for a palaeographic analysis of its script (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” 73-142).

<sup>1231</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” 73-142. Most of the drawings were done by N. Shechter and H. Kek.

Hebrew language<sup>1232</sup> and script; however, all of the ink inscriptions on plaster (except 4.6), though written in the Hebrew language,<sup>1233</sup> are written in Phoenician script.<sup>1234</sup>

All of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud texts date palaeographically to the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century.<sup>1235</sup> In the analysis that follows, I treat a representative sample of the 'Ajrud

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<sup>1232</sup> These inscriptions are written in the Israelite dialect (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "The Inscriptions," 126).

<sup>1233</sup> These inscriptions are written in the Judahite dialect (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "The Inscriptions," 126).

<sup>1234</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "The Inscriptions," 73-142. Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel state, "This might be a result of the Phoenician influence in Judah at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE.... The adoption of the prestigious Phoenician script by foreigners is a well-known phenomenon, cf. the inscriptions of Kilamuwa and Azatiwada (*KAI*, Nos. 24-26)" (126). Cf. the discussion of the prestige of Phoenician script at the end of the Phoenician-script chapter.

See also Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 51; cf. I: 47-64; III: Pls. II, 7-10; III, 1-4; IV, 1, 3; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, KAJr*, 277-98; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 313-29.

P. K. McCarter Jr. says the plaster texts are written in Phoenician script, but their language is Hebrew; while the pithoi texts are written in both Hebrew script and language ("Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy: Biblical and Epigraphic Data," in *Ancient Israelite Religion: Essays in Honor of Frank Moore Cross* [P. Miller Jr., P. D. Hanson, and S. D. McBride, eds.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987], 138. See also the following articles by McCarter in *COS* 2, pages 171-73: "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: Inscribed Pithos 1 [2.47A]," "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: Inscribed Pithos 2 [2.47B]," "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: The Two-Line Inscription [2.47C]," "Kuntillet 'Ajrud: Plaster Wall Inscription [2.47D]"). See also, B. A. Mastin, "The Inscriptions Written on Plaster at Kuntillet 'Ajrud," *VT* 59 (2009): 99-115.

Meshel believes that the origins of Kuntillet 'Ajrud lay not in Judah in the south but rather further north in Israel, as various objects recovered from the site have strong northern influence: many of the inscriptions bear Israelite orthography, with the Yahwistic theophoric element of names spelled *-yaw* versus *-yahu*; some of the blessings are directed to "Yahweh of Shomron (Samaria)," a few of the inscriptions employ Phoenician (versus Hebrew) script (these are discussed in the previous chapter on Phoenician script); there is a good amount of Samaritan pottery at the site; and many of the artistic motifs have strong Phoenician-North Syrian influence. He posits that the site was established in c.800 BCE, by King Joash of Israel, who had defeated King Amaziah of Judah and taken control of the territory of Judah (2 Kings 14:7-16; 2 Chronicles 25:5-24). He believes Joash founded Kuntillet 'Ajrud on the border of Judah in order to demonstrate the control of Israel (and Israel's god—"Yahweh of Shomron") over the territory of Judah, including trade routes to the Red Sea. The variety of religious inscriptions, iconography, and architectural elements recovered from the site leads Meshel to believe that it was inhabited by priests and their apprentices (note the student exercises mentioned above). One of these priests might have been designated *sar 'ir*, "governor of the city," a title which appears on several pottery vessels from the site (*Kuntillet 'Ajrud*, 68-69).

<sup>1235</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, "The Inscriptions," 73-75. Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel say that "The first two inscriptions (1.1 and 1.2) seem to be early Hebrew inscriptions of the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE, based on the forms of some letters, especially the *mem* and some of the *hes*. Since such letter forms are also found in inscriptions of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries, these inscriptions could also be dated to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century-beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> century BCE, like the other inscriptions from the site. The peculiarity of these inscriptions lies in the material in which they were incised and the tools used for their execution. These caused the uncommon forms of some letters and some mistakes. . . . Another possible explanation is that whoever incised the inscriptions was unskilled..." ("The Inscriptions," 75). Cf. note 1283 below.

In 1987, McCarter dated the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions to the beginning of the eighth century on the basis of palaeography and internal content ("Aspects of the Religion of the Israelite Monarchy," 138). In 1994, he said he favored a late ninth-century date for 1.2 (*Ancient Inscriptions*, 110).

In 1979, Cross dated Kuntillet 'Ajrud 1.2 to c.800 BCE. In 2003, he dated it to the late tenth or to the first half of the ninth century and "the mass of the cursive inscriptions" to the end of the ninth century ("Early Alphabetic Scripts," in *Symposia Celebrating the Seventh-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research [1900-1975]: Archaeology and Early Israelite History* [F. M. Cross Jr., ed.; Cambridge, Mass.: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1979], 109 = *Leaves*, 340 and note 53. Cf. idem, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite and Early Phoenician Scripts" in *BASOR* 238 (1980): 14, 18 n.16 = *Leaves*, 222 n.40, 226).

J. Naveh dates the inscriptions to c.800 ("Inscriptions of the Biblical Period," in *Thirty Years of Archaeology in Eretz-Israel, 1948-1978, The Thirty-Fifth Archaeological Convention* [Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981], 80 [in

inscriptions written in the Hebrew script.<sup>1236</sup> In this sampling, I include at least one example of each letter form that occurs in each of the different media groups.

#### (1) Inscriptions Incised in Stone

##### Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.1 – Personal Name on Stone Bowl Fragment (Fig. 45)

Transliteration:

1. šm‘yw . b<sup>1237</sup>n<sup>1237</sup>zr

Translation:

1. Shema‘yaw, son of ‘Ezer

##### Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.2 – Blessing on Stone Basin (Fig. 46)

Transliteration:

1. l<sup>1</sup>b<sup>1</sup>dyw bn ‘dnh brk h’ lyhw

Transliteration:

1. To ‘Obadyaw son of ‘Adnah, blessed be he to YHW

##### Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.3 – Personal Name on Stone Bowl Fragment (Fig. 47)

Transliteration:

1. šbl . ḥlyw

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Hebrew]; “Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from ‘Izbet Šarṭah,” 34; *Early History*, 66, 69; “Graffiti and Dedications,” *BASOR* 235 [1979]: 29 n.9).

A. Lemaire dates 1.2 to the end of the ninth century and the pithoi cursives to the first ¼ of the eighth century. Historically he prefers to associate them with the reign of Jeroboam II and to date them between 776-750 BCE (“Date et origine des inscriptions hébraïques et phéniciennes de Kuntillet ‘Ajrud,” *SEL* 1 [1984]: 131–143, esp. 134–36).

Renz dates them to the end of ninth-beginning of eighth century (*Handbuch*, I: 51).

<sup>1236</sup> Many of the inscriptions are so fragmentary that nothing would be added by their inclusion here. For example, 20 of the inscriptions have only one or two letters (‘alep, yod, or qop plus resh).

The inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud written in Phoenician script were discussed in the Phoenician-script chapter.

<sup>1237</sup> This letter was originally drawn as *bet*, but there appears to be the trace of a secondary line whereby the scribe made an attempt to correct this letter, likely to a *nun*. Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel discuss this correction but the drawing that accompanies their write-up of 1.1 does not reflect the secondary line (“The Inscriptions,” 75).

Translation:<sup>1238</sup>

1. Shibbol Ḥalyaw

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.4 – Ownership Designation with Personal Name on Stone Bowl Fragment (Fig. 47)

Transliteration:

1. l‘bd[ ]

Translation:

1. Belonging to ‘Ebed...

(2a) Inscriptions Incised in Pottery after Firing

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.1 – Personal Name (Fig. 48)

Transliteration:

1. [ ]t . ‘yr’ .

Translation:

1. ....t ‘Ira’

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.2 – Personal Name (Fig. 49)

Transliteration:

1. [ ]‘dh<sup>1239</sup>

Translation:

1. ‘Adah

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.4 – Ownership Designation with Title (Fig. 50)

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<sup>1238</sup> This translation is based on that of Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel (“The Inscriptions,” 77).

<sup>1239</sup> There appears to be a *yod* just below this line; however, Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say that “it is not a letter, but one of the many bulges that are to be seen on the surface of the vessel (“The Inscriptions,” 79).

Transliteration:

1. lšr‘r

Translation:

1. Belonging to the governor of the city

## (2b) Inscriptions Incised in Pottery before Firing

The majority of these fragments have only one letter: *’alep* or *yod*. A few are marked with the letters “qr”.<sup>1240</sup>

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.10 – Pithos Sherd with Two Letters (Fig. 51)

Transliteration:

1. qr

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.15 – Pithos Sherd with Single Letter (Fig. 52)

Transliteration:

1. ’

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 2.26 – Pithos Sherd with Single Letter (Fig. 53)

Transliteration:

1. y

## (3) Inscriptions in Ink on Pottery

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.1 – (Sample)<sup>1241</sup> Letter (from Pithos A) (Fig. 54)

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<sup>1240</sup> Meshel suggests the letters are abbreviations marking tithes sent to the site (Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel, “The Inscriptions,” 82, 85).

<sup>1241</sup> Because these letters are found on pithoi, P. K. McCarter Jr. (personal communication) suggests they might be “sample” letters, intended to demonstrate a particular scribe’s writing proficiency.

Transliteration:

1. 'mr . '[ ]?[ ]m?[ ]k . 'mr . ly<sup>h</sup>l<sup>[1242]</sup> . wl?<sup>1243</sup>w'šh . wl[ ] brkt . 'tkm .
2. lyhwh . šmrn . wl'srth .

Translation:<sup>1244</sup>

1. Message of '.....M..K. Speak to Yahel-... and to X-o'ašah and to .....  
blessed you
2. by Yahweh of Shomron (Samaria) and to his *asherah*.

Kuntilet 'Ajrud 3.6 – (Sample) Letter (from Pithos B) (Fig. 55)

Transliteration:

1. 'm<sup>1245</sup>r
2. 'mryh .<sup>1246</sup> ,
3. mr l . 'dny
4. hšlm . 't .
5. br<sup>k</sup><sup>1247</sup>tk . ly
6. hwh . tmn
7. wl'<sup>1248</sup>š? [ ]h<sup>1249</sup> yb

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<sup>1242</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *yod* here ("The Inscriptions," 87). I believe there is room for at least two letters in this space; however, I cannot make out definitively any letter.

<sup>1243</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *yod* here ("The Inscriptions," 87). This letter is either a *he* or a *yod*.

<sup>1244</sup> This translation is based on that of Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel ("The Inscriptions," 87).

<sup>1245</sup> Based on the textual context, *mem* is the best reading for this letter form. From a palaeographic standpoint, the letter might also be a *kap*, *nun*, or *pe*.

<sup>1246</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not include this word divider in their transliteration, but it is included in the drawing of this inscription ("The Inscriptions," 95).

<sup>1247</sup> *Kap* provides the best reading for this word; however, based on the traces of ink in this area, one could also read *mem* here.

8. rk<sup>1250</sup> wyšmrk
9. wyh?<sup>1251</sup> ‘m . ’r
10. y [                      ]

Translation:<sup>1252</sup>

1. Message of
2. ’Amaryaw. “S-
3. ay to my lord,
4. ‘Are you well?
5. I have blessed you by Ya-
6. hweh of Teman
7. and to ..... May he b-
8. less you, and may he keep you,
9. and may he be(?) with ...
10. ....

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.9 – Votive Text (from Pithos B) (Fig. 56)

Transliteration:

1. [              ]y<sup>1253</sup>[              ] lyhwh . htmn . wl’šrth .
2. [              ] kl ’šr .<sup>1254</sup> yš[<sup>1255</sup>]l .<sup>1256</sup> m’š .<sup>1257</sup> hnn h’<sup>1258</sup> w’<sup>1259</sup> m pth wntn lh yhw

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<sup>1248</sup> There appear to be traces of ink between the *’alep* and *shin*. These might be extraneous markings or simply discoloration of the pottery. Various inscriptions overlap in this area of the pithos.

<sup>1249</sup> In the first half of this line, Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read “wl’šrth .” (“The Inscriptions,” 95). This area is worn, and I can only make out traces of some of the letter forms.

<sup>1250</sup> There are traces of a *taw* after this *kap*. Based on the context, it is likely an extraneous letter (cf. line four) or a scribal error occasioned by the “brkt” sequent in line five.

<sup>1251</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *yod* (“The Inscriptions,” 95). This area is worn, and I can only make out a few faint letter traces.

<sup>1252</sup> This translation is based on that of McCarter, “Kuntillet ‘Ajrud: Inscribed Pithos 2 [2.47B],” 171-72.

<sup>1253</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read this letter (“The Inscriptions,” 99).



3. kl[<sup>1259</sup>]p<sup>1260</sup>h

Translation:<sup>1261</sup>

1. .... to Yahweh of the Teman and to his *asherah*
2. .... Whatever he asks(?) from a man, that man will give him generously. And if he would urge – Yahw will give him
3. according to his .....

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.12 – Abecedary (from Pithos B) (Fig. 57)

Transliteration:

1. ṭ y k l m n s p [ ] š q r š t

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.13 – Abecedary (from Pithos B) (Fig. 57)

Transliteration:

1. p ‘ š q r š t

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.14 – Abecedary (from Pithos B) (Fig. 57)

Transliteration:

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<sup>1254</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not include a word divider in their transliteration, but there is one in the drawing (“The Inscriptions,” 99).

<sup>1255</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *‘alep* here (“The Inscriptions,” 99).

<sup>1256</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not include a word divider in their transliteration, but there is one in the drawing (“The Inscriptions,” 99).

<sup>1257</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not include a word divider in their transliteration, but there is one in the drawing (“The Inscriptions,” 99).

<sup>1258</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read a word divider here (“The Inscriptions,” 99).

<sup>1259</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *bet* here (“The Inscriptions,” 99).

<sup>1260</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *bet* here (“The Inscriptions,” 99). The trace that remains might be that of either a partial *bet* but also a *pe*.

<sup>1261</sup> This transliteration is based on that of Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel (“The Inscriptions,” 98).

1. k l m n s p ‘ š q r š t

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.16 – Fragment (from Pithos C) (Fig. 58)

Transliteration:

1. ‘š’ . ?<sup>1262</sup>[                      ]
2. . hṭlh [                      ]
3. g?<sup>1263</sup>[                      ]
4. ?<sup>1264</sup>[                      ]

Translation:

1. ‘Asa’ .....
2. the lamb<sup>1265</sup>
3. G.....

#### (4) Inscriptions in Ink on Plaster

Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 4.6.1 – Plaster Fragment (Fig. 59)

Transliteration:

1. [                      ]mm . l ‘ m šmm [                      ]
2. [                      ]’mr . <sup>1266</sup>?<sup>1267</sup>? ‘t . l [                      ]

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<sup>1262</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *bet* (“The Inscriptions,” 103). This letter might be *gimel*, *dalet*, or *he*. A *bet* is unlikely, as the upper head stroke of this letter does not typically extend past its spine on the right side.

<sup>1263</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *dalet* (“The Inscriptions,” 103). This letter might be *gimel*, *dalet*, or *he*.

<sup>1264</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel read *dalet* (“The Inscriptions,” 103). This letter might be *gimel*, *dalet*, or *he*.

<sup>1265</sup> This might also be translated “the young one,” as suggested by Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel (“The Inscriptions,” 103).

<sup>1266</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read this ‘*alep* (“The Inscriptions,” 120).

<sup>1267</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not read this letter (“The Inscriptions,” 120). It appears to be either a *mem* or a *shin*.

3. [            ]'mr yš'l [            ]

Translation:

1. ....
2. .... say .....
3. ....say, he will ask.....

Significant Palaeographic Features:

The Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions are important for the study of the development of the Hebrew script, as they are the first inscriptions that are written definitively in the Hebrew language. Moreover, they also provide the first substantial examples of the Hebrew script executed in ink, a medium that, as discussed in the Methodology chapter, because of its inherent flowing nature, produces the most cursive, and, therefore, often the most advanced letter forms.<sup>1268</sup> It is also important to note that four of the inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud were inscribed in stone, as lapidary inscriptions might be expected to exhibit the formal expression of the Hebrew script.<sup>1269</sup> Despite this fact, however, only two of the four inscriptions (1.2 and 1.4) have a more formal script appearance. Inscriptions 1.1 and 1.3 were executed rather crudely. The following letters in the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions are particularly noteworthy: *'alep, bet, gimel, dalet, he, waw, yod, kap, mem, nun, samek, pe, sade, qop, shin, and taw*.<sup>1270</sup>

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<sup>1268</sup> Cf. the discussion of cursive script expressions in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1269</sup> Cf. the discussion of formal script expressions in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1270</sup> In 1.1 the vertical stroke of *zayin* just crosses the bottom horizontal stroke. This is not diagnostic. The scribe of 1.1 does not seem to have been especially skillful; various letters in this inscription are executed poorly. (Note also *mem* and *shin* in this inscription). Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.6 has both upright and counterclockwise-rotated examples of *yod*. Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not include examples with counterclockwise rotation in their drawing or script chart of this inscription ("The Inscriptions," 95, 125).

In their script chart of 2.4, Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel draw *'ayin* with an open head, though the head is closed in the drawing of this inscription ("The Inscriptions," 80, 123). The head of *'ayin* is closed in this inscription.

The head of *resh* in 1.2 is open at the top, but this is not typologically significant. The scribe of this inscription was not particularly careful, leaving the strokes of various letters unconnected. Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

**The vertical shafts of some examples of 'alep are curved inward in the direction of the nose,** accentuating the counterclockwise rotation of many of these examples (3.1,<sup>1271</sup> 3.9,<sup>1272</sup> 3.16, 4.6.1).<sup>1273</sup> This is discussed more fully below.

**Bet** in Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.6 **exhibits the clockwise rotation** first seen in the Mesha stele and also in the el-Kerak fragment and Arad ostrakon 79. However, *bet* also **stands upright** (1.2, 1.3) or **exhibits counterclockwise rotation** (1.4,<sup>1274</sup> 3.1) in the Kuntillet 'Ajrud corpus.<sup>1275</sup>

**Gimel's short fore-stroke slightly extends past its taller vertical stroke on the right side** (3.16) and provides another example of the extension of top oblique or horizontal strokes that was first seen in the *het* in Tel Rehov 7.

Similar to Tel Rehov 7, yet to a more advanced degree, some examples of Kuntillet 'Ajrud **dalet exhibit a clear stem** (1.2,<sup>1276</sup> 3.6).

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Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not include the letters *het* and *pe* in their transliteration of this text; however, they include them in their palaeographic discussion of it ("The Inscriptions," 95). As these letters do not appear in the text, I assume this was a typo.

<sup>1271</sup> Note that the script chart given by Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel for 3.1 does not correspond to the inscription ("The Inscriptions," 124-25).

<sup>1272</sup> Note that the script chart given by Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel for 3.9 does not correspond to the inscription ("The Inscriptions," 124-25).

<sup>1273</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel say '*alep* in 3.6 has "a bowed down-stroke slanted to the left" ("The Inscriptions," 95). '*Alep* favors an upright stance in this inscription.

Note that Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel say that in 1.2 '*alep* has "a rounded head typical of Phoenician script" ("The Inscriptions," 77). Cf. Cross, "Early Alphabetic Scripts," 109 = *Leaves*, 340. While the two oblique strokes of the head of '*alep* are close to parallel (the form that Phoenician '*alep*'s head begins to take in the eighth century), they are not completely so, and this '*alep* fits well with the parameters of a Hebrew '*alep* in the ninth-early eighth century. However, The lines of the head of '*alep* in 2.1 are quite parallel. This is not typical for Hebrew '*alep*, and this letter form might have been occasioned by the media of this inscription and the challenge of incising in dry clay. Cf. the discussions of scribal media and of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1274</sup> In the drawing of 1.4 found in Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel ("The Inscriptions," 78) *bet*'s head is open at the top, though it is closed in the script chart (122). *Bet*'s head is closed in this inscription.

<sup>1275</sup> McCarter says the *bet* of the tenth-century South Canaanite inscriptions (Tel Zayit abecedary, Gezer Calendar) has a head that is "rounded and larger than the usually triangular *bet* of the contemporary Phoenician parent script . . . This trait is a sign of independent development in the inland, South Canaanite tradition and anticipates the striking round-headed *bet* of the late ninth-century Hebrew script, as seen in the three examples of *bet* that appear in the stone bowl inscription from Kuntillet 'Ajrud" (in Tappy *et al*, "An Abecedary," 32-33). However, he says elsewhere that round and sharp forms "alternate throughout the history of the (Hebrew) script" ("Palaeographic Notes," 50-52). When examining the photographs of the Kuntillet 'Ajrud stone bowl (1.2), I see only one *bet* with a very round head. The other two *bets* appear to me to have more oblong forms with blunted notes.

<sup>1276</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel mention that the head of *dalet* opens to the left and compare this to the head of *dalet* in the Aramaic Gozan pedestal ("The Inscriptions," 77). First, the head of *dalet* is closed in the Gozan pedestal

Some examples of *he* in the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud ink inscriptions (3.9) **have a curved vertical spine**, similar to the letter *’alep*.<sup>1277</sup> This is discussed more fully below. *Hes* most striking characteristic in these inscriptions is that, as with *gimel*, **its top horizontal stroke begins to extend past its vertical spine on the right side** (3.6, 3.16, some examples in 3.9).

As in the Mesha and el-Kerak inscriptions, most examples of *waw* in the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud texts **favor an upright stance and have a symmetrical, cup-shaped head**. Several forms, though, **are more Y- than cup-shaped** (1.1, 3.1). Furthermore, **several *waws* in the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud inscriptions anticipate the standard eighth-century form of Hebrew *waw***. In 1.3 *waw*’s head is rotated in a clockwise direction; and in at least one example in 3.6, its head is not only rotated clockwise but has begun to lose its cup-shaped form. Moreover, at least one example of *waw* in 3.9 exhibits the standard eighth-century Hebrew form. In this example the left side of *waw*’s head is drawn in one stroke with its vertical shaft, while the right side of its head is drawn with an oblique line that crosses the vertical shaft at its join with the left side of the head.

The distinctive Hebrew *yod* first appears in the inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (1.3, 3.6, 3.12). In these inscriptions *yod* is either 2- or z-shaped, as is contemporary Phoenician *yod*; however, it also **exhibits a particularly unique characteristic; it has a cursive tick on the right side of its bottom stroke**. As mentioned above in the description of *’ayin* in the Tel Rehov inscriptions, such ticks become the hallmark of several letters in the Hebrew script in the eighth century, and this phenomenon is discussed in full below.

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inscription. Second, the open head of *dalet* in Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.2 is not typologically significant. The scribe of this inscription was not particularly careful, leaving the strokes of various letters unconnected. Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1277</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say that in 1.2 “in some of the *hes* the leg is vertical and upright” (“The Inscriptions,” 77). Though the stance of letters inscribed around the round edge of something like a basin is often hard to ascertain, I believe that each of the *hes* in this inscription are rotated counterclockwise to some degree. (Cf. the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter).

Most examples of *kap* from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud exhibit a **significant curl at the end of their tails** (1.2,<sup>1278</sup> 3.1,<sup>1279</sup> 3.6,<sup>1280</sup> 3.14<sup>1281</sup>), even more advanced than that seen in the tails of *kap* in the Mesha and el-Kerak inscriptions. Their heads also stand upright.

Most examples of *mem* from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud also have very curled tails (3.6, 3.12, 3.14<sup>1282</sup>). Note also that the **zigzag head of *mem* in some of the ink inscriptions is formed with quite round cursive** versus angular **strokes** (3.9),<sup>1283</sup> and **some examples of *mem* have the more check marked head** (some in 3.6)<sup>1284</sup> seen in Tel Rehov 6.

Some examples of *nun* in the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud inscriptions have undergone a development similar to that seen in the *nun* of Tel Rehov 6. **The head is formed** not in two strokes, as in earlier forms of *nun*, but **in one, either sharp (1.2) or round (3.6,<sup>1285</sup> 3.9), stroke, and this stroke joins**

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<sup>1278</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not see a curve on the end of *kap*’s tail (“The Inscriptions,” 76-77, 122). I believe there is one there.

<sup>1279</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not note the example of *kap* with a curved tail at the end of line one (“The Inscriptions,” 90).

<sup>1280</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say *kap* has “an oblique, tailless down-stroke” (“The Inscriptions,” 95; cf. 125). It is odd that they say this, as two of the four *kaps* in the drawing have curled tails.

<sup>1281</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, Meshel (“The Inscriptions,” 102-103) say that the *kap* in 3.14 has a “straight down-stroke” (102) and then say its “oblique down-stroke curves downward” (103). It is curved in the drawing (102) and script chart (125). I see a curved tail on this *kap*.

They also say that *kap* is curled in 3.12 (102-103, 125). The end of *kap*’s tail is damaged, and its shape cannot be determined with certainty.

<sup>1282</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say “the oblique down-stroke is long and straight” (“The Inscriptions,” 102-03, 124). Though the ink is faded, I see curvature at the end of *mem*’s tail.

<sup>1283</sup> In the drawing of 1.1 in Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel the strokes of *mem* are not fully executed and do not connect completely (“The Inscriptions,” 75). They represent *mem* more accurately in their script chart (122) than in their description. Note also that *mem* in 1.1 stands quite upright for an inscription believed to date as late as the late ninth-early eighth century. However, stance is often skewed in inscriptions written around the edge of circular vessels, such as the one on which 1.1 is inscribed. Furthermore, the scribe of 1.1 does not seem to have been especially skillful, as various letters in this inscription are executed poorly. (Note also *zayin* and *shin* in this inscription.) Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1284</sup> Also anticipated in the form of *mem* in 3.14.

<sup>1285</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say “the cross-stroke is curved,” though it is straight in the drawing and script chart (“The Inscriptions,” 95, cf. 125).

**nun's tail stroke somewhere below its top.** As with *kap* and *mem*, **the tail of most examples of nun curls up roundly at the end** (3.6, 3.9,<sup>1286</sup> 3.12, 3.14<sup>1287</sup>).

*Samek* exhibits its first significant development in the Hebrew script in the inscriptions from Kuntillet 'Ajrud (3.12, 3.14). **It is quite tall and towers above the scribal ceiling line. Its vertical shaft does not pierce its upper horizontal bars.** Furthermore, **cursive ticks**, as those seen on *yod*, **appear on the right end of at least one (3.12)<sup>1288</sup> or all three (3.14) of these bars.**

As with *kap*, *mem*, and *nun*, **the tail of *pe* curls up quite roundly at the end** (3.12, 3.14<sup>1289</sup>).<sup>1290</sup>

*Ṣade* maintains the short vertical shaft seen in earlier Hebrew-script inscriptions. Additionally, however, it **develops a short cursive tick on the right side of its bottom horizontal stroke** (3.12, 3.14). (Compare the tick of *yod* and *samek*).

*Qop* has grown quite tall and towers above the scribal ceiling line in some inscriptions (3.12 3.14). **Though its head is made in the earlier one-stroke fashion**, in some examples **its vertical stroke does not penetrate this head** (3.12, 3.14).<sup>1291</sup>

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<sup>1286</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say "the oblique down-stroke does not curve at the bottom," though the drawing includes at least one or more examples with a curved down-stroke ("The Inscriptions," 99-100).

<sup>1287</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say "the oblique down-stroke is long and straight" ("The Inscriptions," 102-03, 124). Though the ink is faded, I see curvature at the end of *nun's* tail.

<sup>1288</sup> I believe all three of *samek's* horizontal bars are connected by their ticks. However, Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel only see a connection between the bottom two bars ("The Inscriptions," 102-03).

<sup>1289</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say the tail of *pe* is not curled, though it is curved in the drawing and script chart ("The Inscriptions," 102, 124).

3.9 offers an example of *pe* with an uncurved tail.

<sup>1290</sup> Aḥituv, Eshel, and Meshel say "the head (of *pe* in 3.14) is round," though it is sharply angled in the drawing ("The Inscriptions," 102-03). I see an angular head.

<sup>1291</sup> Compare *qop* in the late tenth—early ninth-century Phoenician Shipitba'al inscription.

Though the head of *qop* in 2.10 is not a perfect circle, this is not diagnostic. (Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.) However, because this *qop* was incised in wet clay before firing, it provides a great example of scribal ductus. It is easy to see that in this example the scribe began to draw the head of this letter from the bottom, just to the left of the vertical shaft. Without lifting the writing instrument, he moved up and leftward, then curved back around to the right—making the upper part of the head stroke, then down and back around to the left, completing the head stroke just to the left of the vertical shaft and slightly overlapping the origination point. Finally, the vertical shaft was added last.

In most Kuntillet ‘Ajrud inscriptions, *shin* exhibits a development parallel to that seen in Tel Rehov 6. Though the earlier symmetrical w-shaped *shin* is still present (1.3, 3.13, some in 3.3 and 3.9), ***shin* comes to be made not in four strokes but in two, and in many of the cursive ink inscriptions, *shin* is not angular but round.** The letter seems to be executed in this way. The scribe makes a first sweeping, u-shaped stroke and then forms the second letter stroke by either repeating this motion without lifting the pen or by beginning the second stroke at the bottom right of the first u, **such that the left side of this second stroke is quite short** (3.6, 3.12, 3.14, 3.16, 4.6.1; some examples in 3.1 and in 3.9; cf. the angular form in 2.4).<sup>1292</sup> *Shin* has a similarly asymmetrical shape in many eighth-century inscriptions.

In the ninth century, as seen in the formal Moabite inscriptions, Hebrew *taw* **has a compact, x-shaped form, having two strokes of equal length.** However, **in a few examples of *taw* from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud, one of the letter’s strokes is just slightly longer than the other** (3.13, 3.14,<sup>1293</sup> 4.6.1).<sup>1294</sup> This does not become a typologically significant feature of Hebrew *taw*, as opposed to Phoenician, as Hebrew maintains a preference for a compact x-shape throughout the eighth century.<sup>1295</sup>

## A Palaeographic Analysis of Hebrew Script in the Early Iron II Period

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<sup>1292</sup> *Shin* in 1.1 has only 3 strokes, but the scribe of 1.1 does not seem to have been especially skilled; various letters in this inscription are executed poorly (cf. *zayin* and *mem*). Cf. the discussion of scribal aptitude in the Methodology chapter.

Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel do not believe that the right stroke of *shin* in 1.1 is fully connected to the other two strokes of the letter (“The Inscriptions,” 75, 122). I believe I can see a connection between all three strokes.

<sup>1293</sup> Ahituv, Eshel, and Meshel leave *taw* out of their script chart of 3.14 (“The Inscriptions,” 124), but it is in the drawing (102).

<sup>1294</sup> *Taw* in the Phoenician-script inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud is quite distinct from that found in the Hebrew-script inscriptions. One of its strokes has lengthened considerably and forms a long, deliberate tail.

<sup>1295</sup> So also Cross and Millard. In Cross’s 1995 article on the Tell Fakhariyeh stele (reprinted in 2003 in *Leaves*), Cross says “Both Hebrew and Phoenician *taw* retain an ‘X’-form, in Hebrew for centuries, in Phoenician through the ninth century” (“Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyeh,” 398, 407 = *Leaves*, 54, 59). Likewise, Millard says that Palestinian *taw* does not lengthen its descending stroke (as opposed to Phoenician and Aramaic) in the late ninth and eighth centuries (“The Canaanite Linear Alphabet,” 132).



In the following pages, I offer a comprehensive analysis of the genesis of the Hebrew script in the early Iron II period. I draw especially from my previous individual analyses of the ninth-century inscriptions written in the Hebrew script tradition—both Hebrew and Moabite—and compare these texts to Hebrew inscriptions from the eighth century, as well as to contemporary Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.

Various scholars have made important contributions to the study of the early Hebrew script. Early studies include the two-volume work of S. A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts*,<sup>1296</sup> and I. Kaufman's 1966 dissertation, *The Samaria Ostraca: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Palaeography*.<sup>1297</sup> Both F. M. Cross and J. Naveh offered summary treatments of the development of the Hebrew script tradition. Cross specifically treated many of the eighth-sixth century Hebrew inscriptions in three articles published from 1961-1962 in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.<sup>1298</sup> As discussed in the previous chapter, he argued in various articles that the first traces of the emergent Hebrew script could be seen in the tenth century, though "they are faint at best,"<sup>1299</sup> and that Hebrew's "most characteristic features as a national script evolved in the course of the ninth century."<sup>1300</sup> Naveh's best known work is the *Early History of the Alphabet*, which was first

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<sup>1296</sup> S. A. Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts Part 1: The Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1971); *The Hebrew Scripts Part 2: The Plates* (Palaeographia: London, 1954-1957).

For a synopsis of Hebrew script from the Iron Age to the modern period see A. Yardeni, *The Book of Hebrew Script: History, Palaeography, Script Styles, Calligraphy & Design* (Jerusalem: Carta, 1997).

<sup>1297</sup> I. Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: A Study in Ancient Hebrew Palaeography" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1966). See also Kaufman, "Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness," 229-39.

<sup>1298</sup> F. M. Cross Jr., "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II," 34-46 = *Leaves*, 116-24. See also, "The Seal of Miqnēyaw, Servant of Yahweh," in *Ancient Seals and the Bible* (L. Gorelick and E. Williams-Forte, eds.; Northridge, Calif.: Undena, 1983), 55-63 = *Leaves*, 107-13; idem, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: I. A New Reading of a Place Name in the Samaria Ostraca," *BASOR* 163 (1961): 12-14 = *Leaves*, 114-15; idem, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: III. The Inscribed Jar Handles from Gibeon," in *BASOR* 168 (1962): 18-23 = *Leaves*, 125-28.

<sup>1299</sup> Cross, "Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite," 14 = *Leaves*, 226.

<sup>1300</sup> Cross, "The Invention and Development of the Alphabet," *Origins of Writing* (W. Senner, ed.; Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1989), 86. Cross lists the "cluster of Hebrew features or characters" in the epigraphic corpus from the tenth-eighth century inscriptions that "represent salient elements in the emergence of a full-blown, independent script tradition in Israelite scribal circles" ("Newly Found Inscriptions in Old Canaanite," 14 = *Leaves*, 226).

published in 1982 and revised in 1987.<sup>1301</sup> There and in various other articles, he argued that a distinctive Hebrew script diverged from the Phoenician script around the middle of the ninth century BCE, that it can first be discerned in the ninth-century Moabite inscriptions, and that this same script was used “without local variations in the kingdoms of Judah and Israel.”<sup>1302</sup> Additionally, he maintained that the Hebrew script became progressively cursive, especially from the eighth century onwards, “dropping the lapidary features as it evolve(d) away from the mother-script.”<sup>1303</sup> He stated that “Hebrew monumental writing emulated the cursive style used by skillful scribes, that is the ‘formal cursive’ in comparison with ink writing on ostraca, which are written in either a ‘semi-formal’ or ‘free cursive’ hand.”<sup>1304</sup>

C. A. Rollston treated the palaeography of the cursive Hebrew script, focusing especially on the eighth-sixth centuries, in his 1999 dissertation, *The Script of Hebrew Ostraca of the Iron Age: 8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Centuries BCE*.<sup>1305</sup> In this work he concentrated especially on the form and ductus of the cursive script in this period and emphasized that the same script tradition was in use in both Israel and Judah during the Iron Age.<sup>1306</sup> In 1993, F. Briquel-Chatonnet compared Iron Age inscriptions from Israel and Judah, with contemporary Phoenician inscriptions, in order to determine if there were individual

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<sup>1301</sup> Naveh, *Early History*. Most recently reprinted in 1997.

<sup>1302</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 65, 78, 97; idem, “A Palaeographic Note,” 70 = *Studies*, 12; idem, “The Scripts in Palestine,” 277 = *Studies*, 3; idem, “Proto-Canaanite, Archaic Greek, and the Script of the Tell Fakhariyah Statue,” in *Ancient Israelite Religion* (1987), 105-07 = *Studies*, 96-98; Naveh, 1984, “Inscriptions from the Biblical Period,” 1984, 61.

<sup>1303</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 66-67. Naveh states, “The mid-ninth century Moabite inscriptions are carved in stone and are lapidary in style. At first glance, it would be reasonable to assume that contemporaneous inscriptions were written in a cursive style that had a more developed script. . . This argument is based on the assumption that the Hebrew script (like the Phoenician and Aramaic sister-scripts) developed in two parallel styles – lapidary and cursive. However, a survey of later Hebrew inscriptions gives no indication of such parallel development in the Hebrew script. The independent Hebrew script becomes progressively cursive, dropping the lapidary features as it evolves away from the mother-script” (*Early History*, 66-67; cf. “A Palaeographic Note,” 1968, 71 = *Studies*, 13). He also states that Hebrew did not develop a lapidary style (*Early History*, 97).

<sup>1304</sup> Naveh, *Early History*, 69, cf. 75; idem, “The Scripts in Palestine,” 279-80 = *Studies*, 5-6.

<sup>1305</sup> C. A. Rollston, “The Script of Hebrew Ostraca of the Iron Age: 8<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> Centuries BCE” (Ph.D. diss., The Johns Hopkins University, 1999). This dissertation is to be published as *The Art of the Scribe in Israel and Judah: The Script of Hebrew Ostraca, Incised, and Chiseled Inscriptions* (Forthcoming). The manuscript provides a useful history of scholarship on the study of the Hebrew script.

<sup>1306</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

Israelite and Judahite script traditions, and to specifically ascertain if Israel followed the Phoenician script tradition over against unique Judahite script developments. He, like Naveh and Rollston, concluded that the scripts of Israel and Judah did not differ fundamentally from each other, in that period (but did differ from Phoenician).<sup>1307</sup> J. Renz produced a comprehensive study of the Iron Age Hebrew script in 1995, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*.<sup>1308</sup> In this study he suggested that the first tendencies toward a Hebrew script can be seen by the end of the tenth century. In 1997, he also did a comparative study of Iron Age Israelite and Judahite inscriptions, and while he, too, determined that Israel and Judah shared a common script tradition in that period, he argued that innovations that appear in this tradition in the ninth century first appear in inscriptions from the north.<sup>1309</sup> Neither Briquel-Chatonnet nor Renz include a comprehensive treatment of the ninth-century Moabite epigraphs in their discussions of the early Hebrew script.

The work of all of the aforementioned scholars continues to be highly important for the study of the Hebrew script tradition. Nonetheless, an updated analysis of the early Hebrew script is valuable for several reasons. Since the time these earlier studies were produced, additional Hebrew-script inscriptions have been discovered, and I have dealt with many of these in this chapter. Moreover, at the time many of these analyses were conducted, various relevant images were available

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<sup>1307</sup> F. Briquel-Chatonnet does argue, however, that the Hebrew script is distinct from Phoenician (F. Briquel-Chatonnet, “Étude comparée de l’évolution des alphabets judéen, israélite et phénicien,” *LOAPL* 4 [1993]: 1-30). On page 8, Briquel-Chatonnet mentions in passing that innovations might possibly occur earlier in the Israelite inscriptions than in the Judahite in the following letters: *zayin*, *šade*, and *gop*, as these letters exhibit curved stems. However, I believe that Briquel-Chatonnet is mistaken. These letters rarely, if ever, are executed with curved vertical strokes, and the few examples that I can find, actually come from Judahite territory. Note the curved shaft of *zayin* in Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.1, and of *šade* in Arad 76.

<sup>1308</sup> J. Renz, *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik*. Vols. I-III (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995). Vol. I: *Die althebräischen Inschriften: Text und Kommentar*. Vol. II/1: *Die althebräischen Inschriften: Zusammenfassende Erörterungen, Paläographie und Glossar*. Vol. II/2: *Siegel, Gewichte und weitere Dokumente der althebräischen Epigraphik*, by W. Röllig. *Materialien zur althebräischen Epigraphik* by J. Renz. Vol. III: *Texte und Tafeln*. Note especially Vol. 1, page 100. Cf. Cf. Rollston’s critique of Renz (*The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming).

<sup>1309</sup> Idem, *Schrift und Schreibertradition: eine paläographische Studie zum kulturgeschichtlichen Verhältnis von israelitischem Nordreich und Südreich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1997).

only via photographs, and these photographs were often of poor quality.<sup>1310</sup> As discussed in the Methodology chapter, my work presented here is based both on personal on-site collation, as well as on more recently produced, high-quality images of many of these inscriptions, including those that I produced particularly for this study.<sup>1311</sup>

Based on my examination of the pertinent Hebrew, Moabite, Phoenician, and Aramaic inscriptions, which are included in the analysis below, I believe that a distinct Hebrew script tradition can first be discerned in the epigraphic record of the ninth century. In this period, this is the script tradition used in Cisjordan in the northern kingdom of Israel and in the southern kingdom of Judah, and also in the Transjordanian kingdom of Moab. Furthermore, both formal and cursive expressions of this script are seen throughout the early Iron II period. The geographic and/or socio-political origins of this distinctive script tradition cannot be discerned from the epigraphic record alone, as the characteristic letter features that first mark the emergence of this script appear contemporarily in inscriptions from Israel, Judah, and Moab.

### **The Hebrew Letter Forms:**

**'alep** — Hebrew *'alep* mirrors its Phoenician counterpart. From the ninth-eighth centuries, it may stand upright or exhibit counterclockwise rotation, and has a preference for the later. Its head is formed by two oblique strokes that meet in a v-shaped nose on the left side; the tip of this nose may be sharply or bluntly pointed. This head is bisected by a vertical shaft, which, in most examples, extends further below the bottom than above the top.<sup>1312</sup> In some inscriptions this vertical shaft is curved inward in the direction of the nose, especially accentuating the counterclockwise rotation of

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<sup>1310</sup> I would be remiss not to acknowledge the extensive on-site collation conducted by Rollston in his study of the Hebrew cursive script ("The Script of Hebrew Ostraca of the Iron Age," *The Art of the Scribe*). His guidance, methodological model, and support in my own on-site work were invaluable.

<sup>1311</sup> For a further discussion, see the section on "Modes of Analysis" in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1312</sup> Examples of *'alep* with a short vertical shaft are occasionally seen in the ninth-eighth centuries (Arad 79, Kuntillet 'Ajrud 2.15, Arad 40).

many of these examples (Arad ostraca 49, 79; Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.1, 3.9, 3.16, 4.6.1; Samaria ostraca 37, 45, 50). This curvature is also seen in the vertical spine of *he*, as discussed below. It is not unique to Hebrew inscriptions, a similar curvature in *'alep*'s vertical shaft is seen in some contemporary Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.<sup>1313</sup>

During the late ninth-eighth centuries, several Hebrew letters begin to develop tick marks. *'Aleph* develops a tick on the right side of its bottom oblique. The first examples of which are seen in the eighth century (some Samaria ostraca, such as 45; Royal Steward inscription). As discussed in the Methodology and Phoenician-script chapters of this study, such ticks are likely the result of the rapid execution of a letter, especially when made with ink. As a scribe wrote quickly in a right-to-left direction, he drug the ink a little when completing the final stroke of a letter. In the Hebrew script, these ticks became part of the typological development of *'alep*, *zayin*, *yod*, *samek*, and *šade* in the late ninth-early eighth centuries, as they are seen not only in the cursive epigraphs but also in some of the formal inscriptions inscribed in stone. While ticks are part of the letter form of *'alep* only throughout the eighth century (cf. *yod*), they remain part of the forms of *zayin*, *samek*, and *šade* in subsequent periods.<sup>1314</sup>

Furthermore, the head of Hebrew *'alep* begins to break down during the eighth century. Its two strokes separate at the nose, and the bottom stroke no longer crosses the vertical shaft on the left but only touches it (cursive Samaria ostrakon 37).<sup>1315</sup> Eventually these head strokes also lose their v-shaped, oblique orientation and become more parallel (formal Siloam Tunnel inscription). This becomes the dominant form of *'alep* in later centuries,<sup>1316</sup> and is similar to the form of *'alep* that

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<sup>1313</sup> The Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions with curved *'alep* are formal.

<sup>1314</sup> Cross states, "This flourish is an extension of a tendency operating in the eighth century which affects, permanently or ephemerally, all appropriate material. The cursive flourish is attached to final horizontal strokes at their end (*i.e.*, at the right)" ("Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II," 36 = *Leaves*, 117).

<sup>1315</sup> Cf. Kaufman ("The Samaria Ostraca: A Study," 12); Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1316</sup> See Naveh, *Early History*, 90-91. Cross states "it is the ancestor of the formal *'alep* of the post-Exilic scripts" ("Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II," 36 = *Leaves*, 117). For the later examples of Hebrew *'alep*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

develops in the Phoenician script in the seventh century.<sup>1317</sup> Aramaic *'alep* takes a star-shape during the eighth century.

*bet* – Early Hebrew *bet*, like contemporary Phoenician *bet*, is made up of a spine on the right side connected to a sharp or blunted triangular head and a foot on the left. Its foot is distinct from its vertical spine and comes across to the left, either sharply or roundly, and either straight across or angled downward. It is typically the length of the head.

*Bet* provides our first example of the way in which the Hebrew script develops independently during the ninth century. During this period Hebrew *bet* begins to rotate in a clockwise direction (Mesha stele; Dibon fragment; Arad 76, 79), as opposed to the counterclockwise rotation preferred by Phoenician *bet*. Though Hebrew *bet*'s stance still varies at the turn of the century,<sup>1318</sup> clockwise rotation is clearly preferred by the eighth century.

Furthermore, note *bet* in one of the eighth-century Arad ostraca (Arad 40 from Stratum VIII). In this inscription *bet*'s foot rounds down just below its head, its distinct vertical spine has almost completely disappeared. Such a smooth form is certainly the result of the cursive execution of this

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<sup>1317</sup> Naveh states, "these developments occurred independently, without mutual influence" (*Early History*, 91). Cf. the section "Common Developments Do Not Indicate Mutual Influence" in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1318</sup> For example, the *bets* of the Kuntilet 'Ajrud inscriptions stand both upright (1.2, 1.3) and rotated clockwise (3.6).

Note a rare and atypical form of *bet* that is rotated counterclockwise in Kuntilet 'Ajrud (3.1) and also possibly in the first line of the Samaria Barley letter. Cf. Millard, who says that Palestinian *bet* does not "tilt leftwards from the top" (as opposed to Phoenician and Aramaic) in the late ninth and eighth centuries ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," 132), and Rollston, who says "within the provenanced corpus of Old Hebrew inscriptions, *bet* is consistent in *not* leaning to the left (i.e., the head is not top-left)" ("Non-Provenanced Epigraphs I: Pillaged Antiquities, Northwest Semitic Forgeries, and Protocols for Laboratory Tests," *MAARAV* 10 [2003]: 176; idem, "Scribal Education in Ancient Israel: The Old Hebrew Epigraphic Evidence," *BASOR* 344 [2006]: 60).

letter, and this form is found frequently in Hebrew epigraphs from subsequent centuries,<sup>1319</sup> alongside the form of *bet* with a more distinct foot.<sup>1320</sup>

***gimel*** – Hebrew *gimel*, like contemporary Phoenician, is made up of two strokes—a longer spine on the right and a shorter, oblique fore-stroke on the left. In the ninth-eighth centuries, it favors counterclockwise rotation, though some upright examples occur (some in Samaria ostraca, such as 16; Siloam Tunnel inscription).<sup>1321</sup>

During the ninth-eighth centuries, several letters in the Hebrew script—*gimel*, *dalet*, *he*, and *het*—develop a unique feature. This development appears to arise from the cursive execution of these letters, as the first examples are seen in ink inscriptions. The top oblique or horizontal strokes of these letters begin to extend past their vertical shafts or spines on the right side, and this phenomenon continues in the subsequent development of their letter forms. Such is the case with *gimel*, whose short fore-stroke extends past its taller vertical spine. The first example of this form of *gimel* is found in the late ninth—early eighth-century Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.16. (So also in some eighth-century examples: some Samaria ostraca, such as 17; some Arad ostraca, such as 40.)

***dalet*** — Hebrew *dalet*, like contemporary Phoenician, is shorter than most other letters and is the shape of a sharp or blunted triangle. In the ninth-eighth centuries, it stands upright or exhibits counterclockwise rotation.

This letter provides a good example of the way in which the cursive expression of a script tradition often runs a bit ahead of the formal. In the ninth-century Mesha stele, written in the formal

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<sup>1319</sup> See for example the late seventh—early sixth-century Yavneh Yam letter (*KAI* 200; Gibson I:10; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 156-63; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, 357-70; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 315-29; III: Pl. XXXVIII, 8); Arad 1 and 2 from Strata VI (Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*; Gibson I:13; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 353-60; III: Pl. XLII, 1-2; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Arad*, pages 5-108; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 92-153); and some examples in the Lachish 2 from Stratum II (*KAI* 192-99; Gibson I:12; Renz, *Handbuch*, I: 409-12; III: Pl. XLIX, 3; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions, Lach*, pages 299-347; Ahituv, *Echoes*, 56-91). For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *bet*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1320</sup> There is extension of the top head-stroke in the Siloam Tunnel *bet*, but this is not typical for this letter in any periods. Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter. Also cf. the discussion of top-stroke extension below.

<sup>1321</sup> Contra Naveh who states that Hebrew preserves an upright stance in contrast to Phoenician-Aramaic (*Development*, 9). Note also the idiosyncratic clockwise stance of *gimel* in eighth-century Arad 60 (Stratum IX).

Hebrew script, *dalet* has no stem. However, *dalet* does begin to develop a short stem in this period, as seen in the cursive inscription Tel Rehov 7 (so also in late ninth—early eighth-century Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.2, 3.6).<sup>1322</sup>

Phoenician *dalet* first develops a stem in the late tenth-early ninth century, as seen in the cursive Phoenician ‘Abda sherd and in all *dalets* in both ninth-century Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions. In the Phoenician script tradition, *dalet*’s stem continues to elongate, so that by the eighth century, in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, it is sometimes hard to distinguish this letter from *resh*. This stands in contrast to Hebrew *dalet*, which maintains a short stem throughout the eighth century, and is easily distinguished from *resh* during that period.

Hebrew *dalet* also exhibits the extension seen in the letter *gimel*. Its top oblique head stroke begins to extend past its vertical spine on the right side. The first examples of this are seen in the eighth century (Samaria ostraca; some examples in the Arad ostraca, such as 40; Siloam Tunnel inscription).

*he* – In the ninth century, Hebrew *he* resembles its Phoenician counterpart. It is typically composed of a vertical spine on the right, which extends considerably below<sup>1323</sup> three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel, horizontal bars on the left. One distinct development occurs in the Hebrew script, however, as four-barred examples of *he* (el-Kerak fragment) appear alongside those with only three horizontal bars, and this four-barred form continues to appear in Hebrew inscriptions in the eighth century (some examples in Khirbet el-Qom 3).<sup>1324</sup>

In the ninth century, *he* may stand upright or rotated in a counterclockwise direction. (The el-Kerak fragment has examples of *he* in both stances.) In the eighth century, it stands consistently

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<sup>1322</sup> Cf. the discussion of *dalet*’s stem in the ninth century in the section on the Mesha stele above (note especially the footnotes there).

<sup>1323</sup> Some examples of *he* with short vertical shafts are still seen in the late ninth-eighth centuries (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.2, 2.2; 3.16; Arad 67 from Stratum X).

<sup>1324</sup> There might also be a four-barred *he* in Samaria ostrakon 18 (line one, first *he*); however, the lowest potential bar extends so far to the left beyond the upper three bars that it leads me to believe this might be an extraneous stroke and not a bar at all. Unfortunately the ink of this ostrakon is faded, and I cannot determine this with certainty.



rotated in a counterclockwise direction. As mentioned above, the spine of *he* is curved in the late ninth—early eighth-century inscription, Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.9 (cf. *’alep*). This curvature is not unique to Hebrew inscriptions, a similar curvature in *he*’s spine is seen in some contemporary Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.<sup>1325</sup>

During the late ninth-early eighth century, Hebrew *he*, as opposed to Phoenician or Aramaic, begins to exhibit the extension discussed above in the letters *gimel* and *dalet*. In the ink inscriptions, its top horizontal bar extends past its vertical spine on the right side (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.6, 3.16; some examples in 3.9). This becomes a distinctive characteristic of Hebrew *he* in the eighth century and is seen in all examples of this letter in both cursive ink and formal incised inscriptions. Note also that all strokes of Hebrew *he* remain connected in the eighth century. This letter does not begin to break down as it does in the Aramaic script in this period.<sup>1326</sup>

**waw** — In the ninth century, Hebrew *waw* stands upright and has a symmetrical, cup-shaped head, preserving the stance and form of tenth-century Phoenician *waw*. It stands in contrast to contemporary and later Phoenician (and Aramaic) *waw*, which takes an upside-down-h form—its earlier cup-shaped head having begun to break down in the late tenth-early ninth century—and has begun to arch back in a clockwise direction. Several examples of Hebrew *waw* from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud are more Y- than cup-shaped—1.1, 3.1.

Furthermore, several *waws* in the Kuntillet ‘Ajrud inscriptions anticipate the standard form of Hebrew *waw* in the eighth century. In Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.3, *waw*’s head is rotated in a clockwise direction; and in at least one example in 3.6, its head is not only rotated clockwise but has begun to lose its cup-shaped form. At least one example in Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.9 exhibits the standard eighth-century form of Hebrew *waw*—the left side of *waw*’s head is drawn in one stroke with its vertical

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<sup>1325</sup> The Phoenician inscriptions with curved *he* are formal. Curved *he* is found in both formal and cursive Aramaic inscriptions.

<sup>1326</sup> In the incised inscriptions from Samaria (Barley Letter), one or more of *hes* horizontal bars do not connect to its vertical shaft. This is not a diagnostic feature but rather is a result of the rather crude way in which this inscription was executed (cf. the discussions of scribal aptitude and scribal media in the Methodology chapter). *He*’s horizontal bars do not separate from its vertical shaft in the following century.

shaft, while the right side of its head is drawn with an oblique line that crosses the vertical shaft at its join with the left side of the head. This is the form of *waw* seen in eighth-century Hebrew inscriptions, both ink and incised; while typically standing upright, its head often inclines in a clockwise direction.<sup>1327</sup>

Cross describes the development of *waw*'s head in this way:

The formal head characteristic of the beginning of the (eighth) century was made with three strokes: the left semicircle of the head; a right semicircle (which is straightening and tending to break through to the left); and a shaft. By the second half of the century, the right 'semicircle' has become a straight line, always 'breaking through,' and in the cursive drawn continuously with the left semicircle . . . in the Barley Letter the '*hamza*'-headed *waw* has emerged.<sup>1328</sup>

McCarter best explains the full development of the so-called *hamza*-headed *waw*,<sup>1329</sup> first seen in the eighth-century in ink ostrakon Arad 40 and in the incised Barley letter from Samaria.<sup>1330</sup> This *hamza*-headed form becomes the standard form of *waw* in the seventh-sixth centuries (Yavneh Yam ostrakon, Arad ostraca from Strata VII–VI, Lachish ostraca from Stratum II). McCarter states:

by the end of the (eighth) century *waw* is characterized by a more fluid ductus, in which the left semicircle is initiated at a point above and to the right of the shaft, drawn down to the left and then back across to the right in a tight curl, and finally swept sharply back in a straight line across the top of the shaft, thus producing the entire head without lifting the brush and creating the so-called *hamza*-headed *waw* . . . this form continues into the seventh and early sixth centuries without significant change.<sup>1331</sup>

Note that *waw*'s vertical shaft is quite long in several Hebrew inscriptions from the late ninth-eighth centuries (Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.1, some in 3.9; Samaria ostraca; some examples in the Arad inscriptions, 60, 89; Khirbet el-Qom 3; Royal Steward).

***zayin*** – During the ninth century, Hebrew *zayin* is I-shaped and shorter than most other letters. It stands upright (Mesha stele)<sup>1332</sup> or is rotated in a counterclockwise direction (Arad 76), and

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<sup>1327</sup> The heads of some examples of *waw* are still upright (Arad 60, 90; Royal Steward inscription). Note *waw* in Arad 89, which is still perfectly Y-shaped and stands upright.

<sup>1328</sup> Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II," 38-40 = *Leaves*, 119-20.

<sup>1329</sup> Cf. Arabic diacritic *hamza*.

<sup>1330</sup> Though *waw* is slightly damaged in this inscription, the intended form of its head is still clear.

<sup>1331</sup> McCarter, personal communication.

<sup>1332</sup> In the Mesha stele, there are two types of *zayin*. In the first type, *zayin*'s vertical shaft slants from right to left, in the second, from left to right. (In their script charts, Naveh [*Early History*, 77] and Sass [*The Alphabet at the Turn of the*

both stances are acceptable for this letter throughout the eighth century. Hebrew *zayin* maintains this I-shape in the ninth-eighth centuries. This stands in contrast to Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions from this period. In those inscriptions, though I-shaped *zayins* appear, beginning in the ninth century, *zayin* begins to take a z-shape.<sup>1333</sup> Also during the eighth century, Hebrew *zayin* further distinguishes itself from Phoenician-Aramaic *zayin*. It maintains a short vertical shaft, while its horizontals grow quite long. Additionally, it develops a tick on the right side of its lower and sometimes upper horizontal bar;<sup>1334</sup> and unlike with Phoenician *'alep*, these ticks become an important feature in *zayin*'s subsequent development.<sup>1335</sup>

**het** – During the ninth-eighth century, some examples of Hebrew *het* resemble their Phoenician counterpart. They are ladder-shaped, and their two vertical shafts extend above and/or below their three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel bars on one or both sides. They may stand upright or exhibit counterclockwise rotation. In upright examples, their bars may be perfectly horizontal or angled downward to the left. Note, however, that in the epigraphic Hebrew corpus from this period, not only three-barred but also two-barred *hets* are found fairly frequently (Mesha stele, some examples in both the ninth- and eighth-century Arad inscriptions, Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.9, some Samaria ostraca, Royal Steward), while Phoenician prefers three-barred *hets*. A few examples of two-barred *hets* are seen in the eighth-century Aramaic inscriptions; however, a one-barred H- or *pi*-shaped *het*

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*Millennium*, 25] give only an example of the second type.) Also, the shaft slants from left to right in the one example in Kuntillet 'Ajrud 1.1. This slant of the vertical shaft, however, is not a diagnostic feature of the Hebrew script, as it becomes in Phoenician and Aramaic in the eighth century. Thus, the Mesha and Kuntillet 'Ajrud examples should be classified as random letter forms (cf. the discussion in the Methodology chapter). Note the discussion regarding the shape of eighth-century Hebrew *zayin* that follows.

<sup>1333</sup> Despite the slanted verticals seen in the Mesha stele *zayin* (cf. the “in between” form of *zayin* in the Aramaic Tel Dan and Hazael Samos inscriptions, and in some *zayins* in the Melqart stele), Hebrew *zayin* never develops the z-shaped form seen in Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.

<sup>1334</sup> As mentioned in the Phoenician-script chapter, ticks are seen on the I-shaped *zayins* in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions. However, this seems to be an isolated occurrence in the Phoenician epigraphic corpus, as ticks do not become a permanent feature of Phoenician *zayin*. Cf. the discussion of random letter features in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1335</sup> For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *zayin*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

quickly becomes the standard form in the Aramaic script from this period on. Moreover, the strokes of Hebrew *het* do not begin to break apart during the eighth century as they do in Phoenician *het*.<sup>1336</sup>

This letter, like *dalet*, provides another good example of a script's cursive expression running a bit ahead of its formal expression. Hebrew *het*—both three- and two-barred forms—also occasionally exhibits the extension seen in *gimel*, *dalet*, and *he*. Its top interior bar extends past its vertical shaft on the right side.<sup>1337</sup> This is first seen in the ninth century in Tel Rehov 7 (also in the eighth century: some Samaria ostraca, such as 16; some Arad ostraca, such as 49).

**tet** – The typical form of Hebrew *tet*, as in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, in the ninth-eighth centuries is a circle with either an x or a + inside. It is as large as most other letters, especially in comparison with the circular *'ayin* discussed below. Note also that the eighth-century ink ostraca from Arad Stratum VIII (40, 53)<sup>1338</sup> seem to preserve the alternate *theta*-shaped *tet*, the form seen occasionally in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions during this period and that becomes dominant in Aramaic from the seventh century.<sup>1339</sup>

**yod** –Ninth—eighth-century Hebrew *yod* parallels its Phoenician and Aramaic counterparts. It favors counterclockwise rotation.<sup>1340</sup> It has the shape of either a “2” or “z,”<sup>1341</sup> with an additional

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<sup>1336</sup> In the incised inscriptions from Samaria (C 1012), *hets* left vertical shaft is disconnected from the rest of the letter. This is not a diagnostic feature but rather is a result of the rather crude way in which this inscription was executed. (cf. the discussions of scribal aptitude and scribal media in the Methodology chapter). *Het*'s vertical shaft does not separate from the rest of the letter in the following century.

<sup>1337</sup> Contra Naveh, *Early History*, 96.

<sup>1338</sup> Aharoni draws *tet* in Arad 40 and 53 with two internal cross bars (*Arad Inscriptions*, 70). Rollston has collated Arad 40 under magnification and sees only one stroke. Arad 53 was not available for study when he conducted his analysis of the Arad ostraca (*The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming). Note that seventh-century Arad 31-33 (Stratum VII) also have *theta*-shaped *tets*.

<sup>1339</sup> However, as these instances from Arad are isolated examples—that is, this form of *tet* does not become a common type in the Hebrew script tradition—they might best be classified as random letter forms (cf. the discussion in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>1340</sup> Briquel-Chatonnet argues that *yod* inclines to the right (i.e. in a clockwise direction) (“Étude comparée,” 6).

<sup>1341</sup> (Though the z-shaped *yod* is obviously more angular than the 2-shaped form, even this form has soft and less angular edges at time.) Contra G. Athas, who states that curved and angular *yods* are contemporary, “however, angular style *yodhs* are the predominant style in the southern regions of Palestine and Transjordan. Further north, we see both styles side by side” (*The Tel Dan Inscription: A Reappraisal and a New Interpretation*. JSOTSup 360 [Sheffield, Sheffield Academic Press, 2003], 110-12).

stroke or “tongue” midway down its spine on the left. During the late ninth-early eighth century (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.3, 3.6, 3.12), Hebrew *yod* develops a cursive tick on the right end of its bottom stroke (cf. *’alep* and *zayin*). As with *’alep*, *yod*’s tick is a transient feature of the letter, lasting only through the eighth century (some Samaria ostraca, such as 7; Arad 101).

Hebrew *yod* begins to distinguish itself from Phoenician and Aramaic *yod* during the eighth century in at least two additional ways, and these become standard features of the letter in the subsequent period. First, its tongue stroke begins to pierce its oblique spine on the right side (some Samaria ostraca, such as 15 and C 1012).<sup>1342</sup> Second, its top and tongue strokes begin to join together, giving the letter a triangular-shaped head. Cross explains this development in the following way, “The topstroke . . . With the downstroke and middle horizontal . . . often forms in effect the hypotenuse of an incomplete, acute-angled triangle.”<sup>1343</sup> Though the triangular head is fully closed in some examples of *yod* in the Royal Steward inscription, in later inscriptions, the triangle is typically “incomplete” (as Cross states) and open on the left side.<sup>1344</sup>

***kap*** – In the ninth century, Hebrew *kap* has a three-pronged head and a long tail. The head’s middle prong splits equally the distance between its left and right prongs. Also, this head typically stands upright and preserves the stance of *kap* seen in the tenth-century Phoenician script, in contrast to the counterclockwise rotation typically preferred by ninth-century Phoenician *kap*.<sup>1345</sup> The tail of

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<sup>1342</sup> Cf. the late seventh—early sixth-century Yavneh Yam letter (the first *yod* in line 8), Arad 2 and the obverse of 18 from Strata VI, Lachish 2 and the obverse of 4 from Stratum II. For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *yod*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1343</sup> Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: III,” 20-23 = *Leaves*, 127; idem, “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II,” 39 = *Leaves*, 120.

<sup>1344</sup> Cf. the late seventh—early sixth-century Yavneh Yam letter; Arad 2 and the obverse of 18 from Strata VI; Lachish 1, 2, and the obverse of 4 from Stratum II. For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *yod*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1345</sup> Though a few examples of Hebrew *kap* exhibit slight counterclockwise rotation (ninth-century el-Kerak statue fragment, Arad 77; eighth-century Arad 67), this is not the preferred stance of Hebrew *kap* in the early Iron II period. Note the idiosyncratic clockwise rotation of the Dibon fragment and Royal Steward *kaps*.

Hebrew *kap* extends from either the middle or right prong of the head and has begun to curl up at the end, further distinguishing Hebrew *kap* from its Phoenician counterpart.<sup>1346</sup>

During the eighth century, Hebrew *kap* undergoes additional development. Its head begins to break down. The middle head prong breaks away from the rest of the head and begins to slide up the left prong (Barley letter),<sup>1347</sup> and this becomes the standard form of Hebrew *kap* in the subsequent century.<sup>1348</sup> This form is somewhat similar to that seen in Phoenician<sup>1349</sup> and Aramaic inscriptions in the ninth-eighth centuries, wherein *kap*'s left prong breaks away from the rest of its head and slides up its middle prong.

***lamed*** – In the ninth-eighth centuries, as in both Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions, *lamed* is hook-shaped, and its hook may be round or angled. The upper part of the letter is longer than the lower part and penetrates the scribal ceiling line.<sup>1350</sup>

***mem*** – In the ninth century, the standard Hebrew *mem*, as in Phoenician, has a five-stroke, zigzag shape. Its head is rotated to a greater or lesser degree in a counterclockwise direction. Its bottom stroke is elongated beyond its upper four strokes, forming a clear tail. This tail, however, like the tail of *kap*, has begun to curl up at the end, distinguishing Hebrew *mem* from its Phoenician counterpart.

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<sup>1346</sup> The tail of *kap* in eighth-century Arad 67 (Stratum X) does not exhibit this curl.

<sup>1347</sup> Cf. Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II," 37, 39-40 = *Leaves*, 118, 120; Birnbaum, *The Hebrew Scripts Part 2*, 21; Kaufman, "The Samaria Ostraca: A Study," 50; Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1348</sup> Cf. the late seventh—early sixth-century Yavneh Yam letter; Arad 7 from Strata VI; Lachish the reverse of 3 from Stratum II. For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *kap*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1349</sup> A second form of *kap* also occasionally appears in Phoenician inscriptions wherein the middle head prong breaks away from the rest of the head and begins to slide up the left prong, as in the Hebrew form. However, Phoenician *kap* never has a curled tail. Cf. the section "Common Developments Do Not Indicate Mutual Influence" in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1350</sup> Toward the end of the ninth-beginning of the eighth century, Hebrew *samek* and *qop* begin to penetrate the scribal ceiling line as well. See the discussion below.

From the late ninth into the eighth century, the upper stroke of cursive Hebrew *lamed* is quite long. We have few examples of cursive *lameds* from both the Phoenician and Aramaic corpora from this period; however, Aramaic Hamath brick #4 preserves an example of cursive *lamed*; its upper stroke is quite long.

Hebrew *mem* is also further distinguished from Phoenician (and Aramaic) by the shape of its head. This letter provides a good example of the way in which the cursive expression of a script tradition often runs a bit ahead of the formal, and of how the cursive execution of a letter often results in a change in that letter's form. As first seen in a ninth-century inscriptions from Tel Rehov (Tel Rehov 6; so also in Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.6), *mem* begins to lose its symmetrical zigzag head shape and to be formed with two check marks. Cross describes the change in the form of *mem* in this way: "the right arms of each 'v' (begin) to drop and shorten, or in some cases (Siloam Tunnel inscription) to become vestigial, so that the two downstrokes are connected to each other and the leg by ticks, sometimes independently drawn."<sup>1351</sup> *Mem*'s head is frequently formed in this way in the eighth century, though some more zigzag forms are still seen (Arad 60, Samaria C 1012, Khirbet el-Qom 3, Royal Steward), and this becomes the typical form of *mem*'s head in the subsequent period.

**nun** – As in ninth-century Phoenician script, Hebrew *nun* has a three-stroke, zigzag shape, and its bottom tail stroke is longer than its upper two strokes. However, the tail of Hebrew *nun*, unlike Phoenician, has begun to curl up at the end (as *kap* and *mem*).

As with *mem*, Hebrew *nun* is further distinguished by the shape of its head, which begins to lose its symmetrical zigzag shape during the ninth century. Also, like *mem*, it provides a good example of a cursive script expression outpacing the formal and of how cursive execution often results in a change in letter form. In Tel Rehov 6, *nun*'s head is composed of a single check mark attached to its tail stroke somewhat below the top of this tail stroke; and similar forms of *nun*, both sharp and round, are seen in the Kuntillet 'Ajrud inscriptions (1.2, 3.6, 3.9). This check mark form is

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<sup>1351</sup> Cross, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: III," 22 = *Leaves*, 127; idem, "Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II," 1962, 39-40 = *Leaves*, 120. Cross also states that *nun*'s right shoulder eventually drops (cf. some examples in Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.6, eighth-century Arad 40). Rollston states, "pace Cross, it is not simply that the right shoulder drops during the seventh and sixth centuries. Rather the entire letter rotates clockwise," *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

found in some eighth-century Hebrew inscriptions (Samaria ostraca; some Arad ostraca, such as 49; Siloam Tunnel) and becomes the dominant form of *nun* in the subsequent period.<sup>1352</sup>

***samek*** – In the ninth century, *samek* is found only in the Mesha inscription. It is formed with a tall, vertical shaft, crossed at the top by three shorter, evenly spaced, parallel, horizontal bars. It stands upright and echoes its Phoenician counterpart.

Counterclockwise examples of Hebrew *samek* also appear in the late ninth-eighth centuries, and the letter begins to develop further during this period. It stands tall, towering above the scribal ceiling line (cf. *lamed*), and its vertical shaft does not pierce its upper horizontal bars (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 3.12, 3.14). Furthermore, cursive ticks, as those seen on *‘alep*, *zayin*, and *yod*, appear on the right end of at least one (3.12) or all three (3.14) of these bars.

Hebrew *samek* maintains these developments in the eighth and subsequent centuries, though in some eighth-century examples its vertical shaft still extends to meet its top horizontal bar (Samaria ostraca, both ink and incised;<sup>1353</sup> Royal Steward). During the eighth century, the vertical stroke of Aramaic *samek* also stops piercing its horizontal bars but Aramaic *samek* does not rise above the scribal ceiling line and develops no ticks. Throughout the early Iron Age (tenth-eighth centuries) Phoenician *samek* does not pierce the scribal ceiling line, its vertical shaft continues to pierce its head until the seventh century, and it does not typically exhibit ticks before the sixth century.<sup>1354</sup>

***‘ayin*** – Initially in the ninth century, Hebrew *‘ayin*, like Phoenician, is typically formed as a complete circle and is drawn in a single stroke; yet in comparison with Phoenician, it undergoes a noteworthy development in this period. It begins to be formed no longer with one stroke but with

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<sup>1352</sup> For a discussion of the development of *nun* in this period, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. A similar form is seen in the Aramaic Hazael Nimrud ivory and in the Phoenician inscriptions from Kuntillet ‘Ajrud (4.1.1, 4.2); however it does not become the typical form of *nun* in either the Aramaic or the Phoenician script traditions.

<sup>1353</sup> *Samek* in the incised ostrakon C 1101 from Samaria has only two bars, but this is not typologically significant, as *samek* does not develop this way in the Hebrew script in the subsequent period. Several of the letters in the incised Samaria inscriptions are inscribed somewhat crudely. (Cf. the discussions of scribal aptitude and media in the Methodology chapter).

<sup>1354</sup> Though ticks do appear on *samek* in the eighth-century Phoenician Karatepe inscriptions, this is atypical for Phoenician *samek* in this period. Cf. the discussions of anticipatory features and Common Developments/Mutual Influence in the Methodology chapter.



two, and as a result, it begins to lose its circular form and to flatten out, especially on its top/left side<sup>1355</sup> (Tel Rehov 8, 9).<sup>1356</sup> Such is the typical form of Hebrew *‘ayin* in the eighth century. Like *mem* and *nun*, *‘ayin* provides a good example of the cursive script expression’s moving ahead of the formal, and of the cursive execution of a letter effecting its subsequent form. Moreover, during the eighth and subsequent centuries, the head of Hebrew *‘ayin*, in contrast to that of Aramaic, remains closed (cf. Phoenician *‘ayin*, which does not open consistently before the late sixth-early fifth century).

*pe* – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Hebrew *pe* is rotated slightly clockwise. It parallels Phoenician (and Aramaic) *pe* and is almost an inverted image of *lamed*, having a short fore-stroke that curves downward—either sharply or roundly<sup>1357</sup>—into a longer diagonal tail. However, *pe* is distinguished in the Hebrew script beginning in the ninth century, in that its tail, like that of *kap*, *mem*, and *nun*, begins to curl up at the end; and this is the characterizing mark of Hebrew *pe* in subsequent centuries.<sup>1358</sup>

*šade* – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Hebrew *šade* prefers counterclockwise rotation, though a few upright examples occur (some in the Mesha stele; in some Arad inscriptions, such as 40, 49, 93).<sup>1359</sup> It mirrors its Phoenician (and Aramaic) counterpart in basic form. It is composed of a “z” that is attached by its top stroke to a vertical shaft on the left. Nevertheless, Hebrew *šade* is unique from ninth—eighth-century Phoenician (and Aramaic) *šade* in two ways. Its vertical staff remains short in this period, sometimes not even extending down to its bottom horizontal stroke (and

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<sup>1355</sup> So also Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. Briquel-Chatonnet does not recognize this evolution in *‘ayin*’s form (“Étude comparée,” 7).

<sup>1356</sup> Note the random appearance of ticks on the Tel Rehov *‘ayins*, as discussed above.

<sup>1357</sup> Briquel-Chatonnet argues that *pe* is more angular in the Hebrew script and rounder in the Phoenician (“Étude comparée,” 7). Round and angular forms are found in both script traditions.

<sup>1358</sup> Though *pe*’s fore-stroke extends slightly past its tail stroke on the right in the eighth-century Arad ostrakon 53, this extension does not become a characteristic feature of *pe*’s development as it does in some other letters (*gimel*, *dalet*, *he*, and *het*) in the Hebrew script. (Cf. the discussion of random letter forms in the Methodology chapter.)

<sup>1359</sup> The stance of *šade* in the eighth-century incised Arad 101 (Stratum X) cannot be determined (so also, all letters in this inscription). Because only a small portion of the inscription remains, its original orientation cannot be ascertained.

preserving the short tenth-century Phoenician form). Also, during the late ninth-early eighth century, it develops a tick (cf. *'alep*, *zayin*, *yod*, and *samek*) on the right side of the bottom stroke of its z-shaped body (Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.12, 3.14). This tick becomes a permanent part of *šade*'s form, as with *zayin* and *samek*, in subsequent centuries.

***qop*** – During the ninth-eighth centuries, Hebrew *qop* may stand upright or rotated counterclockwise. At times, it is quite tall and, like *lamed* and *samek*, penetrates the scribal ceiling line (Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.12, 3.14; some examples in the Samaria ostraca, such as 5).

In the ninth-century formal Mesha stele (so also incised Kuntillet 'Ajrud 2.10, 3.13), the form of *qop* resembles that of its Phoenician counterpart. It has a round head that appears to have been made in one stroke, and this head is divided into two equal parts by a vertical shaft. Nevertheless, in the ninth-century Hebrew cursive inscriptions, *qop* has undergone distinct development, and this letter provides a good example of the way in which the cursive expression of a script tradition often runs a bit ahead of the formal, and of how the cursive execution of a letter often results in a change in that letter's form.

In Arad ostrakon 76, *qop*'s head is formed with two semi-circular strokes, which results in an asymmetrical head shape. The bottom of its right head stroke intersects its vertical shaft in a lower position than does the bottom of its left head stroke. In Tel Rehov 6, a further development has also taken place, as *qop*'s vertical shaft no longer fully divides its head but only intersects it, and this is the standard form of Hebrew *qop* in the eighth century.<sup>1360</sup> Rollston describes the execution of *qop*'s head in this way,

it appears that the scribe formed the curved left stroke by beginning well above the vertical shaft and then drew the pen downward in a counterclockwise direction, ultimately forming a junction high on the vertical shaft. To form the curved right stroke, the scribe placed the pen slightly below the origination point of the curved left stroke and then drew the pen downward in a clockwise direction, ultimately forming a junction with the vertical shaft slightly below the junction of the left curved stroke.<sup>1361</sup>

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<sup>1360</sup> Note *qop* in Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.12 and 3.14 and in Arad 70. In these inscriptions, *qop*'s head is still ovoid and symmetrical but no longer pierced by the vertical shaft. They are somewhat reminiscent of *qop* in the Phoenician Shipitba'al and Kuntillet 'Ajrud 4.2 inscriptions. Note the idiosyncratic form of *qop* in eighth-century Arad 93. Its head is completely open on the bottom left side.

<sup>1361</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. Cross says this form of *qop* is a "cursive development" of a more "formal" *qop* that was drawn in the following way: the head is "drawn in a circular motion clockwise. Usually the

Forming the head of *qop* with two separate strokes eventually led to an even further development—*qop*’s head opens at the top. Note that in eighth-century Arad ostracon 41, “The left curved stroke and the right curved stroke do not form a junction, resulting in a head which is open, albeit very slightly.”<sup>1362</sup> *Qop*’s head has completely opened in the incised inscriptions from Samaria (Barley letter, C 1012), and this becomes the standard form of the letter in the subsequent period.<sup>1363</sup>

This breakdown of *qop*’s head in the Hebrew script is different from the individual ways that the heads of both the Phoenician and Aramaic *qops* break down during the eighth century. In the Phoenician script, *qop*’s head is also formed with two semi-circles but its orientation around the vertical shaft is dissimilar from that of Hebrew *qop*. In the Aramaic script, *qop*’s head also begins to open at the top but it takes on a characteristic S-shape.<sup>1364</sup>

**resh** – In the ninth-eighth centuries, Hebrew *resh* parallels its Phoenician (and Aramaic) counterparts. Its stands upright or is rotated in a counterclockwise direction.<sup>1365</sup> It is as tall as most

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stroke runs horizontally to the left, then angles sharply up, and makes an arch, the stroke finishing lower than it began on the vertical shaft.” He says this form is seen in the Siloam Tunnel inscription and in Samaria ostraca 4-6, and is open at the top in the Samaria Barley Letter and in C1101. He also says the more “cursive” form of *qop* is seen in Samaria ostraca 22-24, 26-27 (“Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II,” 41, 41 n.24 = *Leaves*, 121, 121 n.24). I see no difference in the way *qop* was executed in the Samaria ostraca. However, the Siloam Tunnel *qop* might have been executed in the way Cross said. It is difficult to determine ductus in a lapidary inscription.

<sup>1362</sup> This might also be true of *qop* in Arad 40. See Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1363</sup> Cf. the late seventh—early sixth-century Yavneh Yam letter, Arad 1, 5 (Stratum VI), the obverse of Lachish 3 and the reverse of Lachish 4 (Stratum II). For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *qop*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming.

<sup>1364</sup> Reisner’s drawings suggest the S-shaped *qop* was present at Samaria (Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, 241), but this is not the case. He was followed incorrectly by Renz (*Handbuch*, I: 193-95; III: Tf. 6; *Schrift und Schreibertradition*, 34). Cf. Kaufman, “The Samaria Ostraca: A Study,” 75-76; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques tome 1: les ostraca* (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf., 1977), 41; van der Kooij, *Early North-West Semitic Script Traditions*, fig. 18. Note the corrections of Cross (“Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: I,” 12-14 = *Leaves*, 114; “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II,” 41 = *Leaves*, 121) and Rollston (*The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming).

<sup>1365</sup> Briquel-Chatonnet argues that *resh* leans more to the right (i.e. in a clockwise direction) than in Phoenician (“Étude comparée,” 7). Though clockwise examples are occasionally seen in the Hebrew script (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.1; 3.14), most examples prefer either an upright or counterclockwise stance.

other letters and is composed of a vertical spine on the right,<sup>1366</sup> with a sharp or blunted triangular head on the left. Occasionally examples with very round heads occur (Kuntillet ‘Ajrud 1.1, 1.2, 2.4, 3.14; Arad 99). Throughout this period, *resh* is easily distinguished from *dalet* in the Hebrew corpus (in contrast to Phoenician and Aramaic), as *dalet*’s stem, once developed, remains quite short.

***shin*** – In the ninth-century, formal Hebrew-script inscriptions (Mesha stele, el-Kerak fragment), *shin* looks like its Phoenician contemporary. It is smaller than most other letters and has an upright stance. It is w-shaped, made up of four strokes which are roughly equal in length.

However, in the cursive Hebrew inscriptions from this period, a new form of *shin* appears alongside the symmetrical w-shaped form. In this new type, *shin* exhibits a development similar to that seen in the heads of *mem* and *nun*. As first seen in Tel Rehov 6, *shin* begins to break down and lose its symmetry. The second stroke (moving from left to right) of the letter no longer meets the third stroke at its top. Similarly, in the majority of the late ninth—early eighth-century Kuntillet ‘Ajrud inscriptions, *shin* is made not in four strokes but in two, and in many of the cursive ink inscriptions, *shin* is not angular but round. As previously stated, when executing the letter, the scribe seems to have made a first sweeping, u-shaped stroke and then to have formed the second letter stroke by either repeating this motion without lifting the pen or by beginning the second stroke at the bottom right of the first u, such that the left side of this second stroke is quite short (3.6, 3.12, 3.14, 3.16, 4.6.1; some examples in 3.1 and in 3.9; cf. the angular form in 2.4). A similarly asymmetrical form of *shin* continues to appear alongside the w-shaped form of *shin* in the eighth-century Hebrew corpus. In this type, “stroke three (of *shin*) forms a junction at or near the middle of stroke two.”<sup>1367</sup> This becomes the predominant form of Hebrew *shin* in the subsequent period. Hebrew *shin* provides

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<sup>1366</sup> Note the idiosyncratic *resh* in eighth-century Arad 99 (Stratum IX). Its stance is reversed. Cross says “sporadic instances of letters written in left-to-right stance occur later; these, however, are to be attributed to the confusion of engravers not wholly skilled in negative engraving of letters on seals. A similar explanation is probably to be given for the ‘Arad Bowl with its curious trial engravings” (“The Origin and Early Evolution of the Alphabet,” *Erlsr* 8 [1967]: 15\*-16\* n.44 = *Leaves*, 323 n.46). Cf. the discussion of scribal media in the Methodology chapter.

<sup>1367</sup> Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. Cf. Cross, “Epigraphic Notes on Hebrew Documents of the Eighth-Sixth Centuries B.C.: II,” 41 = *Leaves*, 121. Briquel-Chatonnet does not note the appearance of this form of *shin* (“Étude comparée,” 7).

another example of the way the cursive execution of a letter effects its subsequent form, and of the cursive expression of a script tradition's pulling ahead of the formal. Phoenician and Aramaic *shin* maintain their symmetrical w-shaped forms throughout the ninth-eighth centuries.

*taw* – Hebrew *taw* may be either +- or x-shaped in the ninth-eighth centuries. It is smaller than most other letters and maintains a compact shape, made up of two strokes of equal length, into the subsequent periods<sup>1368</sup> (thus preserving the earlier tenth-century Phoenician form). Though in a few examples of *taw* in the Hebrew corpus from this period, one of the letter's strokes appears to be just slightly longer than the other,<sup>1369</sup> this might simply be the result of the human hand's inability to always form exact, equal-length strokes, especially when writing rapidly in the cursive script; because this stroke does not continue to grow and form a distinct tail as it does in contemporary Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions.

## Conclusion

In the above analysis, I have demonstrated that a distinct Hebrew script tradition emerged alongside the Phoenician script in the ninth century. This Hebrew script is marked by unique, innovative letter forms, but also by its preservation of earlier tenth-century Phoenician forms, that the Phoenician script, itself, did not maintain. Furthermore, some of the innovations that distinguish the Hebrew script in the ninth century are found only in the cursive inscriptions and do not appear in formal Hebrew inscriptions before the eighth century.

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<sup>1368</sup> Cf. the late seventh—early sixth-century Yavneh Yam letter, Arad 1, 7 (Stratum VI), Lachish 2 and the reverse of 4 (Stratum II). For a discussion of the subsequent development of Hebrew *taw*, see Rollston, *The Art of the Scribe*, forthcoming. So also Cross and Millard. In Cross's 1995 article on the Tell Fakhariyeh stele (reprinted in 2003 in *Leaves*), Cross says "Both Hebrew and Phoenician *taw* retain an 'X'-form, in Hebrew for centuries, in Phoenician through the ninth century" ("Palaeography and the Date of the Tell Fakhariyeh," 398, 407 = *Leaves*, 54, 59). Likewise, Millard says that Palestinian *taw* does not lengthen its descending stroke (as opposed to Phoenician and Aramaic) in the late ninth and eighth centuries ("The Canaanite Linear Alphabet," 132). Note the script chart of the Samaria ostraca given by Kaufman ("Samaria Ostraca: An Early Witness," 234). In this chart he draws *taws* that appear more like *gimels*. I believe his drawings are incorrect.

<sup>1369</sup> Kuntillet 'Ajrud 3.13, 3.14, 4.6.1; Samaria ostraca 16; Arad 50 (Stratum VIII); some examples in the Royal Steward inscription.

Briefly summarized, the palaeographic features that denote the genesis of the Hebrew script are as follows: (1) *Bet* begins to rotate in a clockwise direction. (2) A four-barred form of *he* appears alongside the standard three-barred form. (3) *Waw* maintains a symmetrical, cup-shaped head. (4) *Zayin* maintains an I-shaped form. (5) A 2-barred form of *het* is used frequently alongside the standard three-barred form. (6) The tails of *kap*, *mem*, *nun*, and *pe* tend to curl up at the end. (7) *Kaps* prefers an upright orientation. (8) *Ṣade*'s vertical stroke remains short. (9) *Taw* maintains a compact shape with two strokes of equal length. Furthermore, the ninth-century Hebrew cursive inscriptions exhibit some additional features that are not seen in the formal. (1) *Het*'s top horizontal bar begins to extend past its vertical shaft on the right side. (2) *Mem*'s head begins to break down into an asymmetrical, double check mark form. (3) *Nun*'s head also begins to break down into an asymmetrical, check mark form. (4) *ʿAyin*'s originally circular shape begins to flatten out, as it is executed with two strokes instead of one. (5) *Qop*'s head begins to break down, and its vertical shaft no longer divides the head space. (6) An asymmetrical form of *shin* appears alongside the standard w-shaped form.

Additional Hebrew-script features developed by the late ninth-early eighth century, as seen in the inscriptions from Kuntillet ʿAjrud: (1) *Gimel* and *he* exhibit the extension of the top horizontal stroke first seen in *het* in the ninth century. (2) Ticks develop on *yod*, *samek*, and *ṣade*; and these ticks become permanent features of *samek* and *ṣade* from the eighth century on. (3) *Waw*'s head begins to break down, moving toward the *hamza*-headed form of the eighth-century and following. (4) *Samek* rises above the scribal ceiling line, and its vertical shaft does not penetrate its horizontal bars. All of these features appear only in the cursive ink inscriptions, except for the tick on the letter *yod*. This is found also in Kuntillet ʿAjrud 1.3, which as discussed above, though lapidary, does not have a formal appearance.

Finally, by the eighth century, the Hebrew script may be distinguished from both the Phoenician and Aramaic scripts by the following additional features:<sup>1370</sup> (1) Ticks develop on *'alep* and *zayin*, and these ticks become a permanent feature of *zayin* from the eighth century on, as with *samek* and *šade*. (2) *'Alep*'s head strokes become parallel; the bottom stroke no longer crosses the vertical shaft on the left but only touches it. (3) A form of *bet* with a very round spine develops alongside the bent-spine form with a distinct foot. (4) *Dalet*'s stem remains short, and the letter is easily distinguished from *resh*. It also exhibits the extension of the top horizontal stroke already seen in *het*, *gimel*, and *he*. (5) *Zayin*'s vertical shaft remains short, while its upper and lower horizontal strokes grow quite long. (6) *Het* maintains intact three- and two-barred forms. It does not develop the one-barred form of Aramaic or break down in the way of Phoenician *het*. (7) *Yod*'s upper oblique and tongue stroke bend toward each other forming a triangular head, and its tongue begins to pierce its oblique spine on the right side. (8) *Kap*'s head begins to break down. Its middle prong begins to slide up its left prong. (9) *Qop*'s head begins to open at the top. Note that the last three letter features in this list appear only in cursive inscriptions, and these provide examples of the way in which the cursive expression of the script continued to run slightly ahead of the formal in the eighth century.

In short, in the early Iron Age, the Hebrew script can be readily identified by three main letter features: the extension of top horizontal/oblique strokes, curled tail strokes, and tick marks. As these features, especially the latter two, have a markedly flowing appearance, it is easy to see why Naveh argued that Hebrew had one script tradition—cursive—with various iterations, such as “formal cursive” and “semi-formal” or “free cursive.” However, as discussed in the Methodology chapter, it is the cursive execution of scripts that drives their development, that is, the changes that begin in the cursive expression of a script, eventually end up as features of the formal. Rather than arguing for different strands of a cursive script, as Naveh has done,<sup>1371</sup> I believe that we may say that Hebrew,

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<sup>1370</sup> Note the comments of Naveh regarding the way in which these scripts distinguish themselves throughout the Iron Age (*Early History*, 97-99).

<sup>1371</sup> Naveh himself questions the usefulness of over classifying scripts (*Early History*, 8). For further discussion see the section “Formal and Cursive, Two Expressions of the Same Script,” in the Methodology chapter.

like Phoenician and Aramaic, had both formal and cursive expressions of its script tradition, and, in the Hebrew tradition, these two expressions ran closely together. Moreover, at the time Naveh formed his position on the Hebrew script, the ninth-century cursive inscriptions from Tel Rehov had not yet been discovered. Upon comparing the Tel Rehov inscriptions to the contemporary Mesha and el-Kerak inscriptions, it becomes quite clear that in the Hebrew script tradition, there were two distinct expressions in this period, the cursive script running just ahead of the formal.<sup>1372</sup> This is seen particularly in the letters *dalet*, *het*, *mem*, *nun*, *‘ayin*, *qop*, and *shin*. (Note also that the small amount of ninth-century material from Arad, also cursive, confirms this as well, cf. *qop* in Arad 76). Furthermore, the cursive expression of the Hebrew script continued to slightly outpace the formal in the eighth century, as seen in the letters *yod*, *kap*, and *qop*.

From their earliest appearance in the ninth century, distinctive Hebrew script features are found in contemporary inscriptions from Israel (Tel Rehov), from Judah (Arad), and from Moab (el-Kerak fragment), and this geographic dispersal of the script continues into the eighth century.<sup>1373</sup> The epigraphic material from Tel Rehov and Arad is cursive and, as discussed above, has slightly more advanced letter features than the formal epigraphic material from Moab. When comparing the cursive materials from Tel Rehov and Arad with each other, one sees that the Tel Rehov material is more advanced than that from Arad. This might cause some to argue that during the ninth century, the Hebrew script tradition was driven by the Israelite scribal apparatus, as Renz has suggested. However, it is important to point out that the ninth-century material from Arad is very limited; there are only about fifteen letters available for comparison. Such limited data should cause us to proceed with caution when forming any thesis about the specific force behind a shared script tradition. Additionally, it might be that the Arad material is simply older than that from Tel Rehov. (From a

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<sup>1372</sup> It is important to point out here that the Moabite material (which the consensus of scholarship dates to the mid-ninth century) and the Tel Rehov material (dated by the excavators to the ninth century, before 840/830 BCE) are contemporary. Thus, an argument should not be made that the Tel Rehov inscriptions are more advanced than the Moabite inscriptions because they are later.

<sup>1373</sup> See note 933.



palaeographic standpoint, this appears to be the case.) However, the information regarding the archaeological contexts in which these materials were recovered,<sup>1374</sup> does not allow us to order these inscriptions in a definitive sequence. Moreover, the contemporary eighth-century cursive inscriptions from Samaria and Arad show comparable script development. Therefore, I do not believe that the geographic and/or socio-political origins of the Hebrew writing tradition can be discerned solely from a palaeographic analysis of the early Iron II epigraphic record. Thus, let us now consider this epigraphic material alongside information about this period in the history of southern Canaan that is known from other sources.

### Historical Considerations

The script tradition employed on both sides of the Jordan River from the ninth century and into the eighth arose after the time that national polities had emerged in the region—Israel, Judah, and Moab—with administrative (and military) power centers in Samaria, Jerusalem, and Dibon, respectively. Some have argued that this shared script should simply be termed “south Canaanite.”<sup>1375</sup> However, while this designation is geographically correct, it offers no explanation for the *impetus* behind the development of this particular writing tradition.

As has been discussed in previous chapters, we expect that in order for a distinct script tradition to emerge (and spread throughout a region), there must be a standardizing influence at work, an influence that is responsible for creating common characteristics of writing. Such homogeneity is typically provided by scribal training, and such training tends to be sponsored by administrative power centers. The scribal apparatus of the kingdom of Moab was clearly sophisticated during the ninth century, as evidenced by the deft execution of the royal Moabite inscriptions from this period. However, we also know from the content of these inscriptions, particularly the Mesha stele, as well as

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<sup>1374</sup> I discussed the archaeological context and the internal and palaeographical dating criteria of the ninth-century Hebrew-script inscriptions above.

<sup>1375</sup> See note 933.

from the Hebrew Bible, that during that time, the Moabites were under the hegemony of the Israelite Omride Dynasty to the north. Therefore, it is possible that the Moabite scribal apparatus was influenced culturally by its Israelite overlords<sup>1376</sup> and came to employ the script of that dominant polity,<sup>1377</sup> a script that may be appropriately termed, “Hebrew.”

The Israelites and Judahites shared a common script, in the same way that they shared a common language<sup>1378</sup> and a common religious tradition. The “center of radiation”<sup>1379</sup> for these shared traditions can rarely be determined, if at all. With regard to the Hebrew script, in the ninth century, both Jerusalem and Samaria were capable of supporting sophisticated scribal institutions. However, because during this period, it was Israel in the north under the Omride Dynasty that was the stronger of the two Cisjordan states,<sup>1380</sup> the scribal apparatus at Samaria is a likely candidate for the driving force behind the advancement of the Hebrew writing tradition.

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<sup>1376</sup> Note that I. Finkelstein and O. Lipschits have associated architectural remains at Mudēyine and Ataruz with the Omride Dynasty (cf. lines 10-11, 18-19 in the Mesha stele) (“Omride Architecture in Moab: Jahaz and Ataroth,” *ZDPV* 126 [2010]: 29-42). There is debate, however, surrounding the association of all of their Cisjordan parallels with the Omride Dynasty. (See especially, I. Finkelstein and A. Mazar, *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* [B. B. Schmidt, ed.; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007]; T. E. Levy and T. Higham, eds., *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text and Science* [London: Equinox, 2005]).

<sup>1377</sup> This was argued by Naveh (“Some Considerations on the Ostrakon from ‘Izbet Šarṭah,” 33; idem, *Early History*, 78, 101). I concur. See note 933.

<sup>1378</sup> But with distinct dialects. See especially, F. M. Cross Jr. and D. N. Freedman, *Early Hebrew Orthography* (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1952), 45-57.

<sup>1379</sup> To borrow a term from Cross (“Newly Found Inscriptions,” 13-15 = *Leaves*, 226-27).

<sup>1380</sup> Also, note the strong northern ties of Kuntillet ‘Ajrud in the Negev. See note 1234.

## CHAPTER 7: Conclusion

In this study, I have endeavored to trace the early development of the three major Northwest Semitic scripts that appeared during the first half of the first millennium BCE—Phoenician, Aramaic, and Hebrew. Heretofore, there had been no comprehensive and systematic palaeographic study of these traditions, approaching all three from a comparative perspective and attempting to identify the time and circumstances under which each emerged as a distinct tradition in relation to the others.

In this study, I focused especially on the epigraphic record of the early Iron II period (tenth-eighth centuries), for the first of these three script traditions—Phoenician—emerged around the beginning of this time. Furthermore, by the eighth century, both Hebrew and Aramaic had established themselves alongside Phoenician as distinctive scripts; by this time each of the three scripts could be identified by their unique palaeographic characteristics. Accordingly, I paid special attention to the palaeographical developments that took place during the ninth century BCE, as this was the time when inscriptions with features that are clearly diagnostic of the separate traditions first began to appear in the epigraphic record.

It is significant that the development of these scripts in this period corresponds to contemporary socio-political situations, and this suggests that these individualized scripts arose under the patronage of specific polities. As has been stated repeatedly throughout this dissertation, we expect that in order for a distinct script tradition to emerge, to exhibit individual characteristics, and to be used broadly throughout a region(s), there must be a standardizing influence at work, an influence that is responsible for creating common characteristics of writing. Such homogeneity is typically provided by scribal training, and such training tends to be sponsored by administrative power centers.

In the early Iron Age, the Phoenicians stood as chief heirs to Canaanite culture following the political and cultural collapse of much of the larger Canaanite civilization at the end of the Late Bronze Age (1550-1200 BCE). Part of their cultural legacy was the Canaanite linear alphabet, and it

seems that the Phoenician scribal apparatus had a profound effect on the standardization of this alphabet toward the end of the Iron I period. As the Phoenician city-states stood as the dominant Canaanite power center at that time, they are our best candidates for the force behind that standardization. Thus, from at least the (end of the) eleventh century, we may speak of a Phoenician script and may use this term to classify the scripts of those inscriptions which exhibit standardized linear alphabetic writing.

Because the Phoenician traders were a ubiquitous presence throughout the Levant (and Mediterranean), their cultural influence pervaded the material culture of this region(s). As a consequence, the Phoenician language and its attendant script took on an element of prestige, or at the very least convenience, and during the early Iron II period came to be used not only by Phoenicians but also by non-Phoenicians. In this regard, the Phoenician script was used by Aramaic-speaking scribes in Syria to write inscriptions in the Aramaic language, and it was also employed in the southern Levant to write inscriptions in the Hebrew language. Thus, the Phoenicians continued to influence the development of the linear alphabetic script throughout the Levant, to one degree or another, from the tenth to the eighth centuries.

Nevertheless, other socio-political circumstances led to additional changes in the linear alphabetic script during this period. By the ninth century, a unique branch of this script tradition developed in south Canaan and came to be employed on both sides of the Jordan River. This tradition arose after the time that national polities had emerged in the region—Israel, Judah, and Moab—with administrative power centers in Samaria, Jerusalem, and Dibon, respectively. During the ninth century, the Moabites were under the hegemony of the Israelite Omride Dynasty to the north, and it is therefore possible that the Moabite scribal apparatus was influenced culturally by its Israelite overlords and came to employ the script of that dominant polity. Thus, this script tradition may be identified as “Hebrew.” Moreover, though in the ninth century, both Jerusalem and Samaria were capable of supporting sophisticated scribal institutions, and were equally capable of influencing the trajectory of the Hebrew script which they both employed; during this period, it was Israel in the

north under the Omride Dynasty that was the stronger of the two Cisjordan states. Therefore, the scribal apparatus at Samaria is the stronger candidate for the driving force behind the advancement of the Hebrew writing tradition at that time.

Further north in the Aramaean and Neo-Hittite territorial states, the Phoenician script continued to be employed into the eighth century, for no dominant, hegemonic power center emerged in Syria during that period to unite the entire Aramaic-speaking, and writing, populace. It was not until the eventual unification of the region under the influence, hegemony, and finally direct rule of the Assyrian empire that the area was joined under a single power. Over the course of Assyria's subjugation of Syria, it encountered and appropriated the Aramaic language and its attendant linear alphabetic script for the administrative purposes of the empire, and with Aramaean scribes at work in the various Assyrian bureaucratic centers—centers that were in communication with one another and consequently influencing one another—this linear alphabetic script soon developed unique characteristics, and a distinctive Aramaic script emerged in the hands of the Assyrian-Aramaic scribal apparatus.

#### Final Remarks

I believe there was both a regional and a socio-political component to the advent of each of the individual Northwest Semitic script traditions of the early Iron II period. With regard to the Phoenician script, while Phoenician city-states stood as power centers on the Levantine coast, the use of this script was not limited to this particular region, because Phoenician merchants spread this script (and language) wherever they went; that is, Phoenician came to be used far and wide, because Phoenicians traded far and wide. Hebrew script, on the other hand, arose in specific southern regions of the Levant and was used within the borders over which Israel had hegemony, borders that encompassed the territories of Judah and Moab. Ultimately, a distinct Aramaic script emerged in the Aramaic-speaking regions of Syria that were united by their common political situation of Assyrian overlordship, and it is remarkable that Aramaic then quickly spread, replacing Phoenician as the

dominant *lingua and scripta franca*, as the borders of the Assyrian Empire begun to engulf the Levantine world.

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# HEATHER DANA DAVIS PARKER

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## EDUCATION AND TRAINING

---

### THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Ph.D. Candidate, Department of Near Eastern Studies  
Concentration: Northwest Semitic Languages and Literatures,  
Hebrew Bible  
Minor Concentration: Akkadian Language and Literature  
Baltimore, Maryland  
Fall 2006 – Fall 2013  
GPA: P

### EMMANUEL CHRISTIAN SEMINARY

(Formerly: Emmanuel School of Religion)  
Master of Arts, Religion  
Concentration: Old Testament and Semitic Studies  
Johnson City, Tennessee  
Spring 2001 – Spring 2005  
GPA: 3.988

### WEST SEMITIC RESEARCH

Training in Epigraphic Digital Imaging and Drawing  
Los Angeles, California  
Summer 2008, Summer 2011

### KING UNIVERSITY

Bachelor of Arts, Economics and Business, *summa cum laude*  
Concentration: Business Administration  
Bristol, Tennessee  
Fall 1995 - Fall 1998  
GPA: 3.923

### INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS INSTITUTE

Cooperative International Economics and Business Program  
Europe  
Summer 1998  
GPA: 4.0

## THESIS RESEARCH

---

- Ph.D. Dissertation: "The Levant Comes of Age: The Ninth Century B.C.E. through Script Traditions"
- Master's Thesis: "Scribal Education in Iron Age Israel"

## ACADEMIC APPOINTMENTS

---

### INSTRUCTOR, DEPARTMENT OF THEOLOGY

*Spring 2013 – Present*

Loyola University Maryland  
Baltimore, Maryland

### INSTRUCTOR, DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS STUDIES

*Fall 2010 – Fall 2011*

Notre Dame of Maryland University  
Baltimore, Maryland

### INSTRUCTOR AND RESEARCH ASSISTANT TO DR. P. KYLE McCARTER, JR., DEPARTMENT OF NEAR EASTERN STUDIES

*Fall 2009 – Fall 2012*

The Johns Hopkins University  
Baltimore, Maryland

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## INSTRUCTOR, DEPARTMENTS OF BIBLE AND RELIGION AND HUMANITIES

*Fall 2005 – Spring 2006*

King University

Bristol, Tennessee

## INSTRUCTOR, DEPARTMENT OF BIBLE AND RELIGION

*Fall 2005*

Milligan College

Elizabethton, Tennessee

## TEACHING FELLOW AND RESEARCH ASSISTANT TO DR. CHRISTOPHER A.

## ROLLSTON, DEPARTMENT OF OLD TESTAMENT AND SEMITIC STUDIES

*Fall 2001 – Spring 2005*

Emmanuel Christian Seminary

Johnson City, Tennessee

## COURSES TAUGHT

---

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| ▪ Introduction to Biblical Studies: Hebrew Bible, New Testament | ▪ Old Testament Introduction               |
| ▪ Elementary Biblical Hebrew                                    | ▪ New Testament Introduction               |
| ▪ Introduction to Theology                                      | ▪ Northwest Semitic Epigraphy: Digital Lab |
| ▪ Ancient Israel: In Their Own Words                            | ▪ Humanities: Quest for Community          |

## PUBLICATIONS

---

Parker, Heather Dana Davis and Ashley Fiutko. "A Moabite-Inscribed Statue Fragment from Kerak: Possible Egyptian Parallels." Forthcoming.

Parker, Heather Dana Davis, and Christopher A. Rollston. "Teaching Epigraphy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Epigraphic Digital Lab." Forthcoming.

Rollston, Christopher A., and Heather Dana Davis Parker. "1 Kings." Pages 309-28 in *The Transforming Word: A One-Volume Commentary on the Bible*. Edited by M. Hamilton. Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2009.

\_\_\_\_\_. "2 Kings." Pages 329-52 in *The Transforming Word: A One-Volume Commentary on the Bible*. Edited by M. Hamilton. Abilene: Abilene Christian University Press, 2009.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Public Display of Forgeries: A Desideratum for Museums and Collections." *Near Eastern Archaeology* 68 (2005): 75.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Responses to the Epigraphic Forgery Crisis: Casting Down the Gauntlet to the Field and to Museums." March 2005. [http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/ParkerRollston\\_Epigraphic\\_Forgery.htm](http://www.bibleinterp.com/articles/ParkerRollston_Epigraphic_Forgery.htm)

Parker, Heather Dana Davis. "Daniel: What Sort of Prophet." Page 1 in *The Clipboard*. Johnson City, Tenn.: Emmanuel School of Religion Press, February 2006.

## WORKS IN PROGRESS

---

Parker, Heather Dana Davis. "The Kition Bowl Inscription: A Paleographic Reassessment."

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Royal Byblian Inscriptions, Together Again. A Photographic Essay."

Parker, Heather Dana Davis, and J. L. Waters. "Satan Has Asked to Sift You as Wheat. The Metaphor of Threshing in Divine and Royal Judgment."

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## PRESENTATIONS, INVITED LECTURES, AND SESSIONS CHAIRED

---

Parker, Heather Dana Davis. Session Chair. Ancient Inscriptions I: Epigraphic Papers in Honour of Professor Joseph Naveh. Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Chicago: November 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Genesis of the Aramaic Script Tradition." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Chicago: November 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Genesis of the Aramaic Script Tradition." Presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. Chicago: November 2012.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Levant Comes of Age: The Ninth Century B.C.E. through Script Traditions." The Kathe Schwartzberg Memorial Lecture of the Biblical Archaeological Forum of Rockville Maryland. October 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Levant Comes of Age: The Ninth Century B.C.E. through Script Traditions." Lecture for the Biblical Archaeology Society of Northern Virginia. October 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Levant Comes of Age: The Ninth Century B.C.E. through Script Traditions." Presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. Atlanta: November 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Epigraphic Forgery Crisis: A Synopsis." Lecture for "Deuteronomy and the Bible." Course in the Department of Jewish Studies, The Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore: October 2010.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Yahweh's Asherah: A Local Manifestation of a Levantine Goddess." Presented at the annual meeting the Southeastern Commission for the Study of Religion. Atlanta: March 2006.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Removing the Curse of Genesis 1-3. Exploring Gender Discrepancies." Lecture for "Why Not Women?" Student Women's Retreat for Milligan College. Johnson City, Tenn.: February 2006.

Parker, Heather Dana Davis and Ashley Fiutko. "The 22nd Egyptian Dynasty in Phoenician Byblos: Casting New Light on Old Statues." To be presented at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research. Baltimore: November 2013.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The 22nd Egyptian Dynasty in Phoenician Byblos: Casting New Light on Old Statues." To be presented at the annual meeting of the Society for Biblical Literature. Baltimore: November 2013.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Moabite-Inscribed Statue Fragment from Kerak: Possible Egyptian Parallels." Presented at the annual meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research. San Francisco: November 2011.

\_\_\_\_\_. "A Moabite-Inscribed Statue Fragment from Kerak: Possible Egyptian Parallels." Presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature. San Francisco: November 2011.

Rollston, Christopher A., and Heather Dana Davis Parker. "Southern Levantine Scribal Traditions: The Ammonite Epigraphs." Presented at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Commission for the Study of Religion. Winston-Salem: March 2005.

## AWARDS

---

- Spring 2013 Sean M. Dever Memorial Prize in Syro-Palestinian and Biblical Archaeology
- Fall 2012 The Dean's Teaching Fellowship, The Johns Hopkins University
- Spring 2012 The Dean's Teaching Fellowship, The Johns Hopkins University
- 2011 The Explorers Club Washington Group Research Travel Grant
- 2011 Harrell Family Fellowship, American Center of Oriental Research, Amman, Jordan
- 2011 J. Brien Key Research Award, The Johns Hopkins University
- 2011 Schafer Research Travel Award, Near Eastern Studies, The Johns Hopkins University
- 2011 Stulman Jewish Studies Award, The Johns Hopkins University
- 2005 Randy and Gigi Huffines Faculty Award for Excellence in Biblical Studies
- 2005 *Stone Campbell Journal* Promising Scholar Award



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## PROFESSIONAL SOCIETIES AND MEMBERSHIPS

---

- 2009-Present American Schools of Oriental Research
- 2003-Present Society of Biblical Literature
- 2011-Present Catholic Biblical Association
- 2004-Present International Honors Society of Theta Phi
- 2004-05 Emmanuel Christian Seminary Admissions Committee

## PRIMARY AREAS OF PROFICIENCY AND INTEREST

---

- Northwest Semitic Epigraphy and Paleography
- History of the Ancient Near East
- Ancient Levantine Religion
- Hebrew Bible
- Second Temple Judaism
- Greek New Testament and Early Christianity

## LANGUAGES

---

- Epigraphic and Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic
- Epigraphic Phoenician, Moabite, and Ammonite
- Ugaritic
- Akkadian
- Hellenistic Greek
- Modern French, German, and Spanish

## MUSEUMS IN WHICH WORKED

---

- Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, Germany
- Amman Citadel Museum, Amman, Jordan
- Kerak Museum, Kerak, Jordan
- Jordan Museum, Amman, Jordan
- Israel Museum, Jerusalem
- Cyprus Archaeological Museum, Nicosia
- National Archaeological Museum, Cagliari, Sardinia, Italy
- Louvre, Paris, France
- Hebrew University Archaeological Collection